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Chairman: Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.10 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 98: HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS (continued) (A/46/67, 70, A/46/71*-E/1991/9*, A/46/72, 81, 83, 85, 95, 96, 99, 117, 121, 135, A/46/166-E/1991/71, A/46/183, A/46/184-E/1991/81, A/46/205*, 210, 226, 260, 270, 273, 290, A/46/292-S/22769, A/46/294, A/46/304-S/22796, A/46/312, 322, 331, 332, 351, 367, 402, 424, 467, 485, A/46/486-S/23055, A/46/493, 526, 582, 587*, A/46/598-S/23166; A/C.3/46/L.25)

(b) HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS (continued) (A/46/3 (chap. VI, sect. C), A/46/24, 473, 542, 543, 603, 609 and Add.1 and 2, 616 and Corr.1, 420, 421, 422, 504; A/C.3/46/L.2 and L.3)

(c) HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES (continued) (A/46/3 (chap. VI, sect. C), A/46/401, 446, 529, 544 and Corr.1, 606, 647)

1. Mr. SERGIWA (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) said that, despite the elaboration of a series of important international instruments, the situation of human rights was scarcely consistent with the commitments given or the efforts made by numerous countries to guarantee the exercise of those rights. Violations were being committed in many regions of the world and large numbers of people subject to colonialism and to racism remained deprived of their right to self-determination. Flows of refugees and displaced persons were larger than ever before and the developing countries continued to be hampered by an unfavourable economic environment which deprived them of their right to development.

2. His delegation stressed the interdependence of all human rights, which meant that the protection and strengthening of economic, social and cultural rights were a necessary condition for the exercise of civil and political rights. No one disputed the importance of the freedom of expression, of participation in public affairs and of the other rights which were established in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which were held in proper regard by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, but that importance remained somewhat theoretical since no new international economic order had been created to exclude hunger, disease, destitution, oppression and economic exploitation.

3. The right of individuals and of peoples to have access to scientific and technological innovations was also a fundamental right of the human person, whose exercise should be guaranteed by the international community. The developed countries should therefore remove the discriminatory obstacles which deprived developing countries of the benefit of scientific and technological activities and the international community should make the necessary efforts to ensure that those activities advanced the well-being of humanity. To use

(Mr. Sergiwa, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)

the world's considerable human and material resources to develop and perfect weapons of destruction was to deny the right to life.

4. International cooperation in the field of human rights required the establishment of international peace and security. The international community must continue its endeavours to put an end to the many flagrant violations of the rights of peoples and individuals who were the victims of colonialism, racism, apartheid and foreign occupation and oppression, particularly in Palestine, in the occupied Arab territories and in South Africa. It must continue to support the rights of countries and peoples to full sovereignty over their natural resources and to the free choice of their political, economic and social systems, in accordance with the purposes and principles of the Charter. The question of human rights should be approached in an objective, impartial and non-selective manner; it should not be exploited for political ends, to put pressure on countries or to intervene in their domestic affairs.

5. His country attached great importance to the principles for the protection of persons with mental illness (A/46/421) and considered that more attention should be given to the rights of the most vulnerable groups, including the elderly, the disabled, migrants, refugees and displaced persons. It also reaffirmed the right of minorities to preserve their identity and their cultural heritage and rejected the use of force to secure their assimilation. Libya would continue to support the work carried out by the international community, through the United Nations, to promote respect for human rights. It welcomed the convening of a World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, to assess the progress already achieved and to determine the tasks to be undertaken during the coming decades.

6. In the "Great Green Document on Human Rights", which had been circulated as a document of the General Assembly in 1989, Libya had reaffirmed its commitment to respect for the fundamental human rights and freedoms: the freedom of movement and abode, the right to work, the right to property, the right to education, to health and to housing, the freedom of expression and the participation of all people, men and women, in public affairs. That document also contained implementation measures which had made it possible, since 1981, to consolidate the progress already achieved in that area. In addition, the Jamahiriya had acceded to a large number of international instruments and had set up a committee responsible for awarding the Qaddafi prize for human rights.

7. In conclusion, his delegation commended the Organization and its competent organs for their work in the field of human rights. He stressed the need to support the Centre for Human Rights and to grant it the human and financial resources it required to carry out the different functions enumerated in document A/46/603, in particular those relating to the monitoring of the implementation of international instruments.

8. Ms. SAINT CYR (Sweden) said that there could be no talk of qualitative progress in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms so long as such human rights violations as summary executions, abductions, disappearances, torture, oppression and persecution on political grounds persisted in any part of the world. Her delegation strongly opposed the argument that the principle of respect for human rights could not be applied at a particular moment for one reason or another. It reaffirmed that human rights were absolute, whole and indivisible. It was to the credit of the United Nations that it had enabled Member States to formulate a series of human rights norms which had become an integral part of international law. It was the responsibility of every Government to ensure respect for those standards.

9. Her delegation was encouraged by the international trend, to which the United Nations had contributed, towards democratic forms of Government, reinforced through the application of market economy principles.

10. In Eastern and Central Europe, for example, there had been incontestable progress in respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms, democracy and the rule of law. In certain countries, however, the effective exercise of human rights was not enjoyed by all citizens, particularly members of minority groups. Flagrant violations of the human rights of the civilian population had been one factor behind the conflict in Yugoslavia. The discrimination to which minorities had been subjected had incited hatred between the populations of that country. A peace agreement in Yugoslavia would be possible only if it ensured respect for human rights.

11. In the Soviet Union, the policy of democratization had favoured human rights, as was evident from the establishment of democratic and pluralistic structures, the reform of the penal system and the release of political prisoners, as well as from the guarantees of freedom of expression and information, but that freedom did not as yet extend throughout the territory. In Georgia, in particular, and in certain Central Asian republics, the old system of coercion and repression remained virtually intact.

12. In Latin America, many peoples had rediscovered the benefits of democratic institutions, though in that sense Haiti represented a deplorable setback. Widespread violations had been committed by the security forces in Haiti since the coup d'état that had deposed President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, in the form of extrajudicial executions, beatings and arrests without warrant. Her delegation hoped that the regional efforts being made for restoration of the constitutional order would bear fruit.

13. The human rights situation in Cuba was deteriorating. Recently, pro-democracy activists had been detained by the authorities and human rights defenders had been harassed. The Cuban Government must take measures to remedy the situation and cooperate with the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights.

14. In Guatemala, even though the Government had set itself the objective of improving the human rights situation, serious violations - disappearances and

(Ms. Saint Cyr, Sweden)

murders - continued at a frightening pace. Her delegation urged the Government of Guatemala to implement fully its commitments in the field of human rights.

15. The report on the human rights situation in El Salvador prepared by the Special Representative of the Commission on Human Rights had shown that summary executions were still being carried out by the armed forces and death squads. No perceptible progress had been made in the proceedings brought for the assassination of Archbishop Romero of San Salvador, in March 1980, the murder of Herbert Anaya in October 1987, or the mass killing of FENASTRAS trade unionists in October 1989. The conviction for murder of two military officers in the Jesuit case did represent important progress, but the significance of the verdict would depend on the Salvadorian Government's commitment to investigating a possible cover-up and to pursuing other human rights cases to which less public attention was paid. Progress in the peace talks had created a framework for a political settlement of the civil war, and the verification mission of ONUSAL was an important contribution to the observance of the right to life, integrity and security of the person and to personal liberty.

16. In Africa, rulers without a democratic mandate were finding it more and more difficult to survive using methods that were at odds with universally accepted human rights standards. Countries such as Ethiopia and Zambia were good examples of the process of democratization that was under way in Africa. Still, in Somalia, Sudan and Zaire serious violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms were still going on. In spite of the important and positive developments that had taken place in South Africa, the violence that still continued there gave cause for serious concern.

17. In Asia, some Governments had embraced the principle of respect for human rights, democracy and the rule of law, but in his report on human rights in Afghanistan, the Special Representative had indicated that the situation in that country showed little improvement.

18. The Swedish Government welcomed once again the willingness of the Islamic Republic of Iran to cooperate with the United Nations Special Representative. Unfortunately, the human rights situation in Iran remained far from satisfactory. The principles of freedom of expression and of non-discrimination on the basis of sex and religion continued to be violated.

19. The wave of democratization that had swept over large parts of the world had had little impact on the Middle East, where human rights violations were sadly common. Deep concern had been caused in the outside world by the systematic violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms in Iraq, which had increased during and after the Gulf war, and by the ruthlessness with which the Iraqi regime treated dissidents, in particular those belonging to national and religious minorities. In another context, her delegation failed to see any justification for the excessive use of force by the Israeli military and civilian authorities in attempting to quell the uprising caused

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by the genuine frustrations of the Palestinians. Sweden expected Israel, which had recently ratified the two International Covenants on Human Rights, the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the Convention on the Rights of the Child, as well as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, to live up to its international commitments. It was her delegation's hope that the peace process that had begun in Madrid a few weeks before would lead to a lasting solution to the Palestinian question and the Arab-Israeli conflict. That would undoubtedly result in a major improvement in Palestinians' human rights situation.

20. Her delegation did recognize the difficulties facing the Sri Lankan authorities, but none the less called upon them to respect human rights.

21. The situation in Myanmar continued to be of concern. The independent expert appointed by the Commission on Human Rights had not been permitted to meet with the opposition leader and Nobel Peace Prize laureate Aung San Suu Kyi, who had been under house arrest since July 1989. The Swedish delegation was working, with others, on a draft resolution to address the situation in Myanmar, where torture and other serious human rights violations continued to occur.

22. The lack of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in China was another cause for serious concern. Although some political prisoners had been freed, others remained under arbitrary arrest for alleged crimes in connection either with the pro-democracy movement of 1989 or with earlier, similar movements in favour of increased political and civil rights. The Chinese judicial system did not conform to internationally accepted standards. Her delegation reiterated its call for the authorities of China to ensure full respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in all areas under their control, and particularly in Tibet, where new cases of torture, detention without trial and limitation of the freedom of expression had been reported. However, it welcomed the willingness of the Chinese Government to maintain a dialogue on human rights questions.

23. Her delegation also welcomed the decision of the Government of Indonesia to carry out an investigation into recent events in East Timor, where a great number of demonstrators had been gunned down by security forces.

24. In Viet Nam, the authorities had recently taken some steps that should improve the situation of political prisoners held without trial.

25. In the large cities of some countries, the particularly appalling practice of murdering street children had become widespread. The Governments of the countries involved must put an end to the practice, which was in contradiction with their commitments under the Convention on the Rights of the Child.

26. In the view of the Swedish Government, the examples just mentioned showed that the United Nations had an essential role to play in the field of human

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rights, the objective being, in the final analysis, to make possible a world free of human rights violations.

27. Mr. WILENSKI (Australia) said that his delegation endorsed the views of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization to the effect that action aimed at the improvement of human rights did not constitute interference in the internal affairs of States. His delegation believed instead that constructive rather than punitive action should be the general rule.

28. The purpose of work on human rights in international forums was not to pass more resolutions, establish more mechanisms or arrange more meetings. The objective must be practical and verifiable: to end specific abuses against individual women and men and to enable individuals to exercise in security the rights and freedoms to which they were entitled.

29. The previous year, his delegation had identified four tasks for the United Nations policy-making organs in the field of human rights: to address the concerns of all countries in the human rights field; to develop non-confrontational means of ensuring respect for those rights; to try to promote genuinely democratic systems of government in which the participation of all citizens was assured; and, finally, to take effective action on specific situations of persistent violation of human rights. Everything seemed to indicate that the United Nations was moving in that direction.

30. It was time to leave behind theoretical disputes on the question whether economic, social and cultural rights should take precedence over civil and political rights or whether greater attention should be paid to the context in which human rights violations occurred, including the international economic and political environment, poverty, and other factors undermining the rule of law. That context did not, of course, serve as an excuse for such abuses. However, it might afford a greater understanding of the reasons why such violations occurred and what could be done to prevent them.

31. With that aim in view, the United Nations should avail itself of the means at its disposal, such as public information programmes, advisory services and other procedures which would enable it to monitor compliance with human rights without confrontation. In that connection, he mentioned the cooperation between the Sri Lankan Government and the Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances of the Commission on Human Rights, which gave grounds for hope that there would be a genuine improvement in the human rights situation in that country. Also to be welcomed was the decision taken by the Indonesian Government to invite the Special Rapporteur on torture to visit East Timor. However, with regard to the tragedy that had occurred in Dili on 12 November 1991, when the Indonesian army had killed a large number of demonstrators, the world had chosen to avert its eyes, pending the results of the investigation initiated by the President. The results of the investigation would be seen as an indication of the Government's commitment to internationally accepted standards of human rights.

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

32. The United Nations should endeavour to assist countries, upon request, in strengthening their democratic system, without imposing a particular system on a country against its will. It could, for example, contribute by maintaining electoral rolls and establishing effective and fair electoral procedures. The current era was marked by a resurgence of nationalism. In such a context, cultural diversity and the human rights of national minorities must be protected.

33. His country also considered that Governments should not confine themselves to promoting human rights within the framework of the United Nations. For its part, Australia was pursuing an active bilateral human rights policy. In 1990, it had raised directly with 82 countries 460 new human rights cases involving individuals or groups. It had endeavoured, through rational and open discussion, to establish common ground. The Australian Government had accordingly dispatched a mission to China in July 1991 with a view to entering into dialogue with the Chinese Government on questions concerning human rights. The delegation had held frank discussions with the Chinese Government on the question of political freedoms, the fate of political dissidents caught up in the tragic events of June 1989, the human rights situation in Tibet and other topics of concern, and had made representations regarding nearly 200 political prisoners. The delegation had sought to avoid confrontation in its discussions with the Chinese authorities.

34. Unfortunately, it must be acknowledged that some Governments clung to power by engaging in human rights abuses and therefore had little interest in bringing about improvements. In such situations, the United Nations had a responsibility to formulate the collective view of the international community. That responsibility was consistent with the principle that United Nations action in the field of human rights should not be selective or exploited for political ends. No region should be considered exempt from the Organization's scrutiny. The fact that the General Assembly had taken up the question of human rights violations in Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation showed that the majority of Member States did not intend to turn their backs on their responsibility.

35. Myanmar was another exceptional case in that an unrepresentative military regime continued to defy the people's clear desire for democratic change. Eighteen months had elapsed since the National League for Democracy had won in the general election. The leader of the League, Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi had been under house arrest for more than two years. The events that had occurred since the elections had removed all credibility from the regime's assurances that a democratic State would be established in Myanmar. In fact, the election of 80 representatives belonging to the League had been nullified, as had those of 25 other elected Members of Parliament. Thirty-six others had fled the country and three had died in custody. At least 2,000 persons were alleged to have been detained. Civil servants and academics had been required to fill out political questionnaires in order to establish their loyalty to the regime. Actions had been initiated against thousands of them for

(Mr. Wilenski, Australia)

political reasons. The regime denied all freedom of expression, association and conscience, and there were many reports of torture and forced labour. Despite Myanmar's poverty, the military regime continued to spend extravagantly on arms. The crisis in Myanmar had had wider regional implications in that it had led to an outflow of refugees to neighbouring countries and the prolongation of insurgent activity. A senior official of the regime had recently stated that the State Law and Order Restoration Council might remain in power for 5 to 10 years. His country appealed to the Myanmar authorities to end such abuses and all violations of human rights occurring in their country, to release Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi and the other political leaders and to work with them to bring about the country's democratization and reconstruction.

36. In conclusion, he expressed the hope that the World Conference on Human Rights, to be held in 1993, would provide an opportunity to concentrate on the human rights approach which his delegation had just outlined.

37. Mr. BURCUOGLU (Turkey) said that he agreed with the realistic assessment of the Secretary-General in chapter VI of his report on the work of the Organization, which dealt with human rights, and in particular with the idea that to apply the principle of protection of human rights selectively would be to debase it. Turkey hoped to see the United Nations play a more active role in protecting human rights, which was one of the principal aims of the Organization. Fortunately, the notion of shared responsibility was gaining ground within the international community.

38. It was increasingly recognized that democracy, pluralism, the rule of law and regular and fair elections were essential in ensuring respect for human rights. Turkey had demonstrated its adherence to those principles and its political maturity, by organizing, on 20 October 1991, elections to the legislature in which all political movements had participated freely, thus ensuring democratic rotation.

39. No country was totally free of human rights violations, and Turkey was no exception in that respect. It was endeavouring to change its legislation; the authorities were paying close attention to all reported cases of violations, and they were in consultation with the relevant non-governmental organizations. Turkey was a Party to all the European instruments for the protection of human rights and to the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, whose provisions it was implementing.

40. The importance that Turkey attached to human rights was borne out by two important developments, namely the establishment in February 1991 of a commission of inquiry into human rights and the entry into force in April 1991 of a law against terrorism rescinding the provisions restricting freedom of opinion and expression and participation in political life. That law had reduced the prison population by 50 per cent. The prison population in Turkey

(Mr. Burcuoglu, Turkey)

was among the lowest in all the world. The death penalty had not been applied for more than seven years. The coalition Government elected on 20 October had undertaken to guarantee all nationals the broadest enjoyment of human rights, and constitutional and legislative reform was under way.

41. As a sponsor of General Assembly resolution 45/150, Turkey believed that the United Nations should provide electoral assistance to Member States requesting it, and its suggestions to that effect were to be found in the report of the Secretary-General on enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections (A/46/609/Add.1, pp. 44 and 47); it wished to congratulate Bulgaria on having held free elections on 13 October 1991 in which all political tendencies had been represented, and which thus represented a step forward on the path of democratization.

42. The report of the Secretary-General entitled "Human rights and mass exoduses" (A/46/542) was of particular interest to Turkey, as about 2 million of its nationals were living in Western Europe. Turkey deplored the xenophobia, racism and discrimination to which those migrant workers were subject and exhorted the countries involved to promote tolerance and understanding.

43. Terrorism was another serious concern. Terrorist acts were flagrant violations of human rights and could not be tolerated by the international community. Turkey would like United Nations organs to give priority to the matter and to determine the sanctions to be applied.

44. Turkey was filled with indignation at the violations of fundamental rights and freedoms, the discriminatory treatment and acts of violence to which the Turkish Muslim minority in Greece was subject, in defiance of international treaties: the forced dismissal of the elected Mufti of Xanthi, assaults that had wounded several dozen people and caused considerable damage, an attack on a mosque. Turkey considered such persecution of a minority unacceptable in the present day and age and hoped that the Turkish Muslim minority would regain its fundamental rights and that those responsible would be brought to justice.

45. Ms. LISSIDINI (Uruguay) welcomed the transformation of the world political scene and the advance of democracy, the only system that could guarantee full enjoyment of human rights, which, however, presupposed the holding of periodic and fair elections. Without prejudice to the principle of non-interference, Uruguay, convinced that electoral assistance to States requesting it was one of the most useful tools for achieving the objectives of the United Nations Charter, had participated in election observation missions under the auspices of the United Nations and the Organization of American States.

46. Civil and political rights were essential, but were meaningless without the full exercise of economic, social and cultural rights. The relationship between development and human rights would be one of the main themes of the World Conference on Human Rights to be held in 1993.

(Ms. Lissidini, Uruguay)

47. The modern era had seen great progress in that a new humanitarian ethic had been born that considered any violation of human rights a collective tragedy that concerned the international community as a whole; hence the importance of the work of the various United Nations organs competent in the matter and of the special rapporteurs' investigations, which could in no way be considered infringements of States' sovereignty.

48. It was very regrettable that the resources allotted to the Centre for Human Rights should be so insufficient. Serious violations were still occurring in various parts of the world and the international instruments meant to protect human rights had not been accepted by all countries, nor were they always implemented by those who had accepted them.

49. The very notion of human rights was changing. It had become inseparable from environmental questions, since any threat to the environment was a threat to the right to life. One problem that would have to be studied in the near future was that of so-called ecological refugees, which threatened to take on alarming proportions if the degradation of the climate and the environment continued. That was one of the subjects that would have to be debated at the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, which would also have to study means of avoiding politicization and selectivity in debates on human rights matters, as well as the effects of terrorism and drug trafficking on the exercise of those rights.

50. Uruguay set great store by information and education, since violations of human rights were often the result of ignorance. Advisory services and technical assistance had an important role to play in that respect. Thus, Uruguay, with the support of the Centre for Human Rights, had organized a course on various aspects of human rights, such as the application of international standards to domestic law, the role of the police, and human rights in the penitentiary system.

51. Everything possible must be done so that future generations would have the deep conviction that human rights were sacred, inviolable, universal, indivisible and interdependent.

52. Mr. SLABY (Czechoslovakia), quoting the recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi, emphasized the need to bring politics and ethics together. Attempts at hegemony or abuses of power must be vigorously denounced without fear of accusations of interference. Such was one of the United Nations roles.

53. Czechoslovakia welcomed the progress of democracy in developing countries, but deplored the persecutions to which defenders of human rights were often still subjected in many countries, often because of widespread ignorance - carefully cultivated by Government in power - of the international standards and mechanisms for protection of human rights. The Governments involved must be exhorted to authorize education programmes and freedom of information.

(Mr. Slaby, Czechoslovakia)

54. The political transformations in Europe, particularly in Eastern Europe, had been spurred, inter alia, by a desire for human rights; while they had done away with ideological polarization they had also, as the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia, Mr. Dienstbier, had pointed out at the CSCE Conference on Human Dimension in Moscow, resulted in a split between a Europe that was stable and one that was prey to often unsettling upheavals. Racism, anti-Semitism, xenophobia and intolerance were becoming common in the societies of Eastern Europe. In Yugoslavia, fratricidal conflict was tearing apart peoples who until quite recently had lived together peacefully; such conflicts unfortunately gave rise to many human rights violations.

55. The problem of ethnic minorities deserved more attention than the United Nations had so far given it. A declaration on the matter had been under study at the Commission on Human Rights for more than 10 years. Czechoslovakia considered it essential to establish a universal standard governing the situation of minorities based on the principle of non-discrimination, so that national, ethnic, religious and linguistic identities would be respected.

56. Czechoslovakia had great hopes of the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, whose main task would be to define how the standards already recognized should be enforced.

57. It would not be necessary to establish new machinery for that, but the Conference should examine ways to improve the effectiveness of existing machinery and to make fuller use of the advisory services and technical assistance available in the United Nations. It should not attempt to solve human rights situations in individual countries because such an approach would duplicate the activities of other bodies and endanger the adoption of concrete conclusions. His delegation considered it desirable that the Conference should recommend the establishment of a panel of United Nations judicial advisers to act as observers during trials centering on human rights violations. It could also explore ways to strengthen the Centre for Human Rights' training programmes for police and military personnel on human rights principles, establish a technical assistance programme for legislative bodies and consider the establishment of a mechanism to respond to requests from Member States for electoral assistance.

58. All those activities would require funding. The Conference's recommendations would have no credibility if the portion of the United Nations budget devoted to human rights remained at 0.7 per cent.

59. At the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference, his delegation had suggested that two working groups be set up, one to prepare documents and the second to prepare the programme. The Conference should evaluate the evolution of human rights since the Tehran Conference and sketch out legal rules which would ensure the further progress of human rights. It should not propose new instruments but should try to find ways to expand the number of parties to existing instruments and improve the effectiveness of the monitoring bodies.

(Mr. Slaby, Czechoslovakia)

60. Information campaigns and advisory and technical services were important, especially for those countries which had opted for democratization most recently. In that connection, the strengthening of the Centre for Human Rights by increasing its funding had become an urgent matter. Human rights deserved much more than one per cent of the United Nations budget.

61. The corollary of the denial of human rights was fear, as Mrs. Aung San Suu Kyi had so well said. Only the United Nations had the required moral authority to help all people get rid of that fear.

62. Mr. BREITENSTEIN (Finland) said that the protection of human rights was an obligation for the State but for the individual it was a right. It was also a fundamental element of peace, sustainable development and social justice.

63. Recent developments had increased hopes for progress towards the creation of a new world structure. Emerging democracies in Europe were consolidating their legal structures in accordance with the standards of the rule of law. The signing of the peace treaty in Cambodia and the peace process in the Middle East were other positive examples. Furthermore, developments in South Africa were encouraging.

64. A new perception of the world was emerging in which democracy, justice and the rule of law as well as economic development were recognized as prerequisites not only for peace but also for the well-being of individuals and nations. Such a new world needed an effective United Nations that met the aspirations of the creators of the Charter fully. In that respect, the Government of Finland strongly endorsed the views expressed by the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization. Collective preventive diplomacy as well as action in cases of massive and flagrant violation of human rights were essential tools for the United Nations to fulfil its obligations.

65. Unfortunately, human rights continued to be violated in situations which had persisted for decades and which had not received the attention they deserved, although the international community had shown during the recent Gulf crisis that it was capable of reacting to gross and flagrant violations of those rights. That example proved that the international community would not stand idly by should atrocities of that kind take place.

66. Finland was following with grave concern the war in Yugoslavia and urged the parties to the conflict to accept without further delay the good offices of the international community in order to end the bloodshed and to ensure that civilians were protected in accordance with the Geneva Conventions and international humanitarian law.

67. His Government was deeply concerned at the acts of violence in East Timor. On 12 November 1991 the Indonesian armed forces had opened fire on civilians in Dili, killing and wounding a considerable number of people.

(Mr. Breitenstein, Finland)

Finland urged the Indonesian Government to pursue its announced investigation of that horrendous incident rapidly and with complete impartiality. It should do its utmost to prevent further violations of human rights and cooperate fully with the Special Rapporteur on torture, who was to visit East Timor and whose report the Finnish Government looked forward to.

68. The interim report on the human rights situation in Afghanistan also caused deep concern. The plight of the refugees had lasted far too long. Lack of respect for basic humanitarian obligations, torture and general mistreatment of prisoners of war and civilians were the order of the day. His Government strongly supported the Secretary-General in his efforts to bring about a political solution to the conflict.

69. The human rights situation in Iraq was far from satisfactory, as the interim report of the Special Rapporteur indicated. The war was over, but the fate of thousands of civilians was still unknown. While it welcomed the contacts established between the Iraqi Government and the Special Rapporteur his delegation urged the Iraqi Government to respect its international commitments on human rights.

70. In Iran, Finland hoped that the Government would continue to cooperate with the Special Representative in order to permit him to report to the next session of the Commission on Human Rights on the situation in that country. It also called for a speedy agreement on the visits of the representatives of ICRC to the Iranian prisons.

71. The situation concerning civil and political rights in Myanmar remained very unsatisfactory. His Government was disappointed at the failure of the authorities to accept the results of the elections in 1990 and to open the way to democratization.

72. The Government of Finland had taken note with great satisfaction of the transition of some countries in Africa towards a democratic form of Government and respect for human rights, while it deplored some recent negative developments. In particular, it strongly disapproved of the recent arrest of opposition leaders in Kenya, whose prompt release it appealed for, and hoped that the democratization process and the transition to a genuine multiparty system in Kenya would continue without interference.

73. The United Nations had done much over the years to lay the foundations of a truly global culture of human rights. The International Covenants and other human rights instruments remained the basic components of any national or international human rights policy. Yet, a large number of Member States had still not ratified those instruments, in particular the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment and the Second Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights aiming at the abolition of the death penalty. Finland urged those Governments which had not yet acceded to those instruments to do so without delay or reservations.

(Mr. Breitenstein, Finland)

74. The United Nations had a central role in the advancement of and respect for human rights. Consequently, it must have the financial resources necessary for its task. The advisory services of the Centre for Human Rights were of the utmost importance for countries taking measures to improve their human rights situation and must therefore be strengthened.

75. The Commission on Human Rights offered unique possibilities for the United Nations to monitor the implementation of human rights. Finland, supported by the other Nordic countries, was seeking a seat in the Commission. If elected, it would spare no effort to work for the universal acceptance of human rights, guided by the principles of objectivity, impartiality and non-selectivity.

76. His delegation emphasized the importance of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities but urged it to set priorities and to focus its activities more clearly, as called for in resolution 1991/56 of the Commission on Human Rights.

77. The Finnish Government believed that the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights would be one of the most important meetings of the decade, provided it had sufficient funding. Finland was ready to make a substantial contribution in support of the participation of representatives of the least developed countries in the Conference and in its preparations.

78. Human rights had recently been widely discussed in several international meetings, among which the most important were the conference on minorities of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), held in Geneva in the summer of 1991, and the CSCE Conference on Human Dimension held in Moscow in the autumn. The latter had made it possible to broaden and strengthen the concept of the rule of law and democratic institutions as well as acceptance of minimum standards during a state of public emergency. The CSCE had won acceptance of the principle that the safeguarding of human rights and fundamental freedoms could not be construed as interference in the internal affairs of a State. As the Secretary-General had suggested in his annual report, that principle should be applied universally.

79. The Finnish Government also welcomed the regional activities on human rights carried out within the Organization of America States and the Organization of African Unity.

80. Protection of the rights of indigenous peoples was part of the world-wide implementation of human rights. In connection with the celebration of the International Year for the World's Indigenous People in 1993, Finland intended to establish a committee to take charge of the national preparations.

81. His delegation attached great importance to the complementary role played by the non-governmental organizations, such as Amnesty International, which deserved the full support of the international community.

(Mr. Breitenstein, Finland)

82. The map of the world was changing, some countries had gained independence and others might yet emerge, and the protection of minorities had become part of the agenda. Unless minorities were adequately protected, no lasting solution would be possible. It was vital that all members of the international community, new as well as old, should fully respect human rights.

83. Mr. JIN (China) said that the Chinese Government welcomed the convening in 1993 of the World Conference on Human Rights, which would be the most important United Nations conference in the field of human rights since the 1968 International Conference. He noted with satisfaction that regional preparatory meetings were to be held in Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe and he expressed the hope that steps would be taken to finance them, particularly in order to enable the least developed countries to participate. In that connection, he noted with regret that a number of least developed countries had been unable to attend the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference because no voluntary contributions had been forthcoming. The success of the Conference depended upon participation by the largest possible number of countries. The General Assembly should therefore make a further appeal for extrabudgetary contributions for that purpose. It was also important for the Secretary-General to provide technical services, including the preparation of the relevant documentation for the regional meetings. The widest possible publicity should be given to the regional meetings and the World Conference. The reports of the regional meetings should be distributed as official documents of the 1993 Conference and their recommendations or decisions should be fully reflected in the Conference's final document.

84. There were currently 166 Member States of the United Nations, with tremendous differences between them in all fields, including human rights, where it was understandable that understandings and practices should differ. Only by seeking common ground and respecting the different approaches to the matter would the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms be genuinely promoted, and international cooperation in the field encouraged. It was unreasonable to seek to coerce all countries into adopting a single model appropriate to a certain country or specific region.

85. Although human rights were indivisible, there was a tendency to emphasize one category, civil and political rights, at the expense of the rest, namely economic, social and cultural rights and the right to development. At a time when more than one billion people were unable to provide for their basic needs, the most urgent and basic human rights for a large number of developing countries weres the right to subsistence and the right to development.

86. For a number of years, there had been a tendency to question the traditional concept of State sovereignty in regard to human rights. China could not accept such views. Without State sovereignty, there could be no human rights in any area. The many countries of the third world which, like China, had lost their independence and been humiliated by the imperialist and

(Mr. Jin, China)

colonialist Powers, valued their hard-won sovereignty too much to accept orders from other countries. In the view of China, human rights questions could be international in character - as in the case of violations caused by colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism, racism, or foreign aggression and occupation - or national, as in the case of the exercise of citizens' rights in a particular country. The latter was mainly an internal affairs issue.

87. China endorsed the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter aimed at protecting and promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms and had always participated in United Nations activities in the field of human rights, but it could not approve of the use of human rights as an excuse to promote any particular values, ideology, political standards or mode of development. Such practices were no longer issues of human rights but rather expressions of power politics and interference in the internal affairs of other countries.

88. To ensure the achievement of the full range of human rights remained an objective pursued by the Chinese Government and people, as evidenced by the white paper published recently by the Chinese Government entitled Human Rights in China, which described the fundamental changes in the human rights situation since the founding of the People's Republic.

89. With reference to the remarks made by the delegation of the Netherlands on 19 November on behalf of the European Community and the representative of the United States on 21 November concerning a number of third world countries, including China, his delegation wished to point out that it considered the criticisms made by those delegations to be irresponsible and prejudicial to international cooperation. It stressed that the People's Republic of China was an independent sovereign State which was entirely free to deal with criminals in accordance with its own laws, and which could not tolerate outside interference in the matter. Furthermore, China rejected the unjustified accusations made against China during the current meeting by the representative of Sweden concerning the so-called excesses committed by the Chinese Government in Tibet. Before 1959 Tibet had been a backward country of serfs who had no freedom whatsoever. Now, Tibetans enjoyed all human rights and fundamental freedoms. It was, therefore, appropriate to question the motives of people who made such a fuss about the human rights issue in Tibet while turning a blind eye to flagrant violations of those rights in other regions of the world.

90. Mr. CEPEDA (Colombia) said that the new international political situation provided an opportunity to encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms in every field.

91. In Colombia, a constitutional assembly elected in December 1990 had proclaimed a new constitution whose provisions regarding human rights were in accordance with the international instruments ratified by the Colombian Congress. In addition to traditional institutions such as habeas corpus, the

(Mr. Cepeda, Colombia)

new Colombian Constitution provided new implementation mechanisms, including the creation of the post of ombudsman, and of a constitutional court. It was in fact a new legal system intended to guarantee the effective exercise of the rights recognized to individuals by the Constitution.

92. The new Constitution also provided various consultative mechanisms aimed at ensuring the participation of the population in public affairs. Political pluralism was also guaranteed, with the opposition given access to information and the media, and State financial aid in order to take part in election campaigns.

93. The Constitution stipulated that the proclamation of a state of emergency should not entail the suspension of human rights or fundamental freedoms and that in every case international humanitarian law should be respected.

94. Lastly, the constitutional court and other legal bodies, constituted an authority distinct from political institutions, an authority with its own rules based on principles and not power and in which citizens had a say.

95. In Colombia, the promotion and protection of the human rights of certain categories or groups of individuals had been subject to particular attention. With regard to children for example, Colombia, which had welcomed with great satisfaction the entry into force on 2 September 1990, of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, had ratified the Convention and adopted measures to implement its provisions. Programmes of action to fight against the exploitation of child labour in all its forms, including for illicit purposes, had been initiated. The national Constitution went even further since it affirmed the primacy of the rights of children over the rights of other people.

96. His delegation also accorded great importance to the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, which also aimed at eliminating all forms of exploitation of that category of people.

97. The new Colombian Constitution also protected the indigenous communities: their languages and dialects were accepted as official in the territories they occupied, their traditions were recognized and they had the right to manage their affairs as they saw fit. Measures had also been taken to enable those communities to take part in elections and as a result, after consultations which had taken place on 27 October 1991, two indigenous people had become members of the Colombian Senate. The indigenous population in Colombia numbered around 500,000 out of a total of 3 million inhabitants. His delegation therefore accorded considerable importance to the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, which would be an opportunity to redouble all efforts to improve the living conditions of the indigenous peoples, resolve the problems they faced and ensure that their rights were protected.

(Mr. Cepeda, Colombia)

98. With reference to the convening of the Conference on Human Rights in 1993, he wished to reaffirm the significance his country attached to an integrated and indivisible concept of all categories of rights and the need to understand that the strengthening of democracy was inextricably linked to development and social justice. The Conference on Human Rights and the regional preparatory conferences would provide an opportunity to assess activities and experiences in that field, to strengthen the universal culture of human rights and to reaffirm the indivisibility and interdependence of those rights.

99. Mr. ROCHEREAU de la SABLIERE (France) said that the work of the United Nations reflected the enormous diversity of situations which required attention, but were confirmation that the Organization had left behind it the era of sterile polemics. Nevertheless, even though it was now beyond dispute that the defence of human rights was a legitimate concern of the international community, vigilance was still needed in order to ensure that the consensus did not lead to a slackening of effort, for human rights, and especially the right to life, continued to be violated on a large scale. Disease, hunger, poverty, and brutal and unjustified repression were still daily realities. Children suffered inhuman treatment and the allocation of humanitarian aid often encountered obstacles.

100. Admittedly, hope had been reborn in Cambodia, dialogue was once more under way in Latin America, South Africa was becoming democratic and unified, and the African continent was advancing towards democracy and the multiparty system, but repression was still being used against the Iraqi people, the fighting in Yugoslavia continued to cause human suffering, violence had broken out in East Timor and the situation in Myanmar was totally unsatisfactory.

101. All States were required to implement Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter, which provided that they should promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all". In that connection, France welcomed the fact that the United Nations action in El Salvador and Cambodia included a human rights component.

102. He underscored the importance of the question of human rights in United Nations activities, as illustrated by the report of the Secretary-General on the subject. The international community could base its actions on international norms and provisions which constituted a solid basis.

103. There was universal awareness of the role of the committees entrusted with the task of following up the implementation of international human rights instruments, such as the recently created Committee on the Rights of the Child. He hoped that the financial difficulties that beset some of those bodies would soon find a satisfactory and lasting solution.

104. Following a period of change that had been supported by France, the Commission on Human Rights had become a forum for a genuine dialogue between States. France believed that the decision taken by consensus to establish a

(Mr. Rochereau de la Sabliere, France)

working group on detention was a significant result of the Commission's forty-seventh session. A large number of States cooperated with the representatives of the United Nations in a constructive spirit, but in certain cases witnesses who had collaborated with the Organization had been victims of reprisals. Such reprisals were intolerable.

105. During the current period of political upheaval, it was vital for the United Nations to be in a position to provide assistance, when so requested, particularly to facilitate the transition towards democracy. Thanks to a massive operation of electoral assistance, the United Nations had accompanied the rebirth of democracy in Haiti. While that rebirth had unfortunately been suspended, there was reason to hope that the legitimate authorities of that country would be reinstated.

106. Generally speaking, his delegation attached great importance to the programme of technical assistance and advisory services of the Centre for Human Rights. It hoped that the Centre would, inter alia, by reinforcing its cooperation with UNDP, expand its services, particularly its training activities at all levels. In addition, violations of human rights throughout the world were still too serious to dispense with surveillance activities.

107. The development of United Nations activities reflected the progress the Organization had achieved in the area of standard-setting. In that regard, France hoped that the most recently adopted instrument, the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families, would enter into force at an early date, and welcomed the fact that the General Assembly was considering, at its current session, an important text concerning mentally retarded persons. In its view, moreover, the international community should pay increased attention to the problems of bioethics.

108. France was also satisfied that the working group which had been entrusted by the Commission on Human Rights to prepare a draft declaration on enforced disappearances had been able to complete its work. The General Assembly, at its following session, should solemnly adopt the declaration, which treated that practice as a crime against humanity.

109. Lastly, absence of punishment was one of the principal causes of continuing violations of human rights. It posed a dilemma to the authorities of the new democracies, which, out of a concern to bring about national reconciliation, were too often tempted to refrain from punishing violations committed in the past.

110. The incorporation of respect for human rights in the problem of development was another issue of concern to France. His country remained convinced that the content and modalities of development were essential elements in the process of democratization. In order to contribute to that process, development programmes should be focused on the individual and his

(Mr. Rochereau de la Sabliere, France)

economic, social and cultural needs and should be implemented with the genuine participation of the intended beneficiaries. That message was contained in the Declaration on the Right to Development.

111. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights would provide an opportunity to review the situation and, particularly, to elaborate forward-looking proposals. It was to be held at Berlin, a symbol of the reconciliation of a people and of the adherence of an entire region of the world to the values of democracy. France hoped that the effective implementation of international human rights standards and the role of the United Nations system and of regional bodies in that regard would receive priority attention.

112. The existence of international mechanisms, however, did not free Governments from their national obligations to ensure the equality of all citizens before the law, promote access to health and education, protect children from violence and exploitation, and to ensure that the rights of persons living in extreme poverty were respected. States should bring their national legislation and practices into line with international texts. That task could not be successfully undertaken without the participation of society as a whole. The role played by non-governmental organizations and by the media in that regard was crucial. Respect for human rights was based on solidarity by all. The support of national institutions for the protection and promotion of human rights was also vital. Far from being a reflection of a lack of democracy, or a shortcoming of the legislative, executive or judicial branches, such bodies represented an additional force for democracy, which helped to define common guidelines for both the authorities and social forces on the one hand, and the Government and the individual on the other. As the French Minister for Foreign Affairs had said, human rights were the concern of all. Responsibility for protecting them could not be left to Governments alone, however vigilant they might be.

113. Mr. ALFARO-PINEDA (El Salvador), replying to the criticisms of his Government made by the representative of Sweden, said that his Government was always willing to accept criticisms provided they were constructive. However, the representative of Sweden had shown herself to be partial in that she seemed to have forgotten the assassinations carried out by the Frente Farabundo Marti para la Liberación Nacional and its attacks against the infrastructure of the country. With regard to the murder of the Jesuits, the representative of Sweden had referred to a cover-up of the matter. He would be pleased if she would present to the court that was investigating the matter proof of her assertion, which would greatly facilitate the court's task.

114. Mr. HUSSEIN (Iraq), referring to the accusations made against his Government by a number of delegations with respect to the situation of human rights in Iraq, said that those delegations had no wish to acknowledge the efforts made by Iraq in that area or its willingness to cooperate with the United Nations. The Iraqi Government was aware that it needed to take steps

(Mr. Hussein, Iraq)

to fulfil the international obligations which it had contracted. The political will was not lacking, but the situation was difficult. Nevertheless, as was well known, Iraq had decided to cooperate with the Special Rapporteur, who would shortly be visiting the country and would have the opportunity to test the sincerity of the Iraqi Government's intentions.

115. Mr. ADALA (Kenya), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, recalled that the representative of Finland had referred to the recent arrests at Nairobi of opponents of the regime. He wished to make clear that those opponents did not belong to any duly registered party, that they therefore had not been arrested as members of a party, that they had been brought before the courts and that the majority of them had already been released.

116. In Kenya, contrary to what the representative of Finland had suggested, the political regime was based on an authentic multi-party system.

The meeting rose at 12.35 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

THIRD COMMITTEE
49th meeting
held on
Monday, 25 November 1991
at 10 a.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 49th MEETING

Chairman: Mr. AL-SHAALI (United Arab Emirates)

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The meeting was called to order at 10.15 a.m.

AGENDA ITEM 98: HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS (continued) (A/46/67, 70, A/46/71*-E/1991/9*, A/46/72, 81, 83, 85, 95, 96, 99, 117, 121, 135, A/46/166-E/1991/71, A/46/183, A/46/184-E/1991/81, A/46/205*, 210, 226, 260, 270, 273, 290, A/46/292-S/22769, A/46/294, A/46/304-S/22796, A/46/312, 322, 331, 332, 351, 367, 402, 424, 467, 485, A/46/486-S/23055, A/46/493, 526, 582, 587*, A/46/598-S/23166; A/C.3/46/L.25)

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(c) HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES (continued) (A/46/3 (chap. VI, sect. C), 401, 446, 529, 544 and Corr.1, 606, 647)

1. Mr. BURTON (United States of America), speaking on sub-item 98 (b) and, more particularly, on the question of periodic and genuine elections, said that his country, which had been founded upon the promise of liberty not only for Americans but for all peoples, shared the hopes and aspirations of the millions of human beings who were experiencing political and intellectual freedom, many for the first time.

2. The "wave of democracy" to which the Secretary-General referred in his report on the work of the Organization to the forty-sixth session of the General Assembly (A/46/1) placed new responsibilities upon the international community with regard to technical assistance to the many countries striving to establish democratic traditions and, in particular, to hold free and periodic elections which provided a guarantee for the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. His delegation believed that democracy fostered development and that economic progress proceeded from the aggregate efforts of individuals. It took great interest in the report of the Secretary-General on "Enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections" (A/46/609), whose chapter II, describing United Nations experience in election monitoring, reflected the Organization's role in conducting plebiscites, referenda and elections in Trust and other Non-Self-Governing Territories, its work in Namibia, Panama, Nicaragua and Haiti, and the role it was now playing or about to play in the Western Sahara, Cambodia, Angola and elsewhere. The record was one of which the United Nations and its Member States could be proud.

3. The Secretary-General's report also gave an account of electoral assistance provided by the Centre for Human Rights, the Department of Technical Cooperation for Development and the United Nations Development Programme. Those three bodies were to be commended and encouraged to develop their activities.

(Mr. Burton, United States)

4. His Government agreed with the Secretary-General that the electoral assistance role of the United Nations was founded on the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples set forth in Article 1, paragraph 2 of the Charter, the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, and the International Covenants on Human Rights. Furthermore, Article 13 of the Charter required the General Assembly to promote international cooperation in the political field and Article 1, paragraph 3 spoke of encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, while Articles 55 and 56 of the Charter required the United Nations to promote universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. His Government hoped that no one doubted the competence of the United Nations in that sphere and that, subject to case-by-case authorization by the competent United Nations body, the Organization would be able to respond to requests for electoral verification assistance from Member States.

5. However, his delegation agreed with others which had expressed concern on that score that United Nations electoral assistance activities should remain exceptional and be undertaken only in clearly defined situations. In his 1990 report on the work of the Organization (A/45/1), the Secretary-General had proposed criteria for United Nations involvement and had also stressed the high cost of electoral verification missions. The United States Government would carefully review the Secretary-General's views, recommendations and caveats on that issue.

6. The United States was proposing the establishment of a voluntary trust fund to assist in financing electoral missions, disbursements from the fund to be governed by guidelines drawn up by the Secretary-General.

7. The United States did not consider that the United Nations needed a new structure or office for electoral assistance. It shared the Secretary-General's view that a senior official, possibly designated as the Coordinator for Electoral Matters, should be appointed in the Office of the Secretary-General to act as focal point within the Secretariat. The coordinator would assist the Secretary-General in reviewing requests and forwarding them to the appropriate United Nations body, office or programme, ensuring properly considered responses and developing the Organization's institutional memory in electoral matters, as well as in drawing up a roster of international experts who could be called upon as needed. Stressing the usefulness of the role which - without pre-empting or superseding the existing mechanisms - a coordinator for electoral matters could play, he expressed his delegation's hope that the Committee would endorse the Secretary-General's proposal.

8. The new Coordinator would collaborate closely with the Centre for Human Rights, UNDP, and the Department for Technical Cooperation and Development, as well as with regional international organizations, both intergovernmental and

(Mr. Burton, United States)

non-governmental. His Government supported the Secretary-General's proposal to set up a task force which would, inter alia, assist the coordinator in developing detailed guidelines and terms of reference for United Nations electoral involvement, uniform criteria for the assessment of electoral processes and a manual for use by United Nations election monitors.

9. Having carefully considered the 50 or so replies from Member States issued as addenda to the report of the Secretary-General, his delegation noted that the great majority among them supported the Secretary-General's ideas. It hoped that its draft resolution on the subject, to be introduced shortly, would receive the support of all delegations.

10. Mr. SAHRAOUI (Algeria) said that his delegation welcomed the growing interest in human rights over the past several years. The goal of all progress should be human beings, the satisfaction of their material and spiritual needs, the defence of all their civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights, and their protection from all forms of arbitrary treatment, exploitation and domination. In order to ensure the genuine promotion of human rights of both individuals and groups, those rights must be considered globally.

11. The international community should promote collective rights as vigorously as it promoted individual rights since those two categories of rights had not received equal treatment. Civil and political rights were defined as obligatory, without any exceptions whatsoever, while economic, social and cultural rights were considered more as goals to be reached "when conditions permitted".

12. The principal causes of underdevelopment in the countries of the South (increasing debt, the rising prices of imported manufactured goods, protectionism, financial manipulations that sought to transfer the deficits of affluent countries to the least developed countries) were a virtual denial of the right to development. The Declaration on the Right to Development, proclaimed by the General Assembly in its resolution 41/128, demonstrated that the international community had become aware of the inseparability of all human rights.

13. It was the duty of every nation to denounce violations of human rights without exception. However, during the time of ideological confrontation, certain totalitarian regimes had never been singled out for human rights abuses. Their role as ally in the erstwhile struggle had ensured their impunity.

14. Moreover, under colonialism, entire peoples, both individually and collectively, had suffered the terrible hardships of repression and exploitation, which many were doing their utmost to conjure away. The lessons of the past must not be forgotten, especially since current examples seemed to prove that evil had not been eradicated. That was the case in the occupied

(Mr. Sahraoui, Algeria)

Arab territories, as attested in the most recent report of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories. That very long document described Israel's unwillingness to cooperate; the occupying Power's recourse to increasingly repressive practices; the use of real bullets and other cruel means of causing death; reputed allegations of systematic torture and maltreatment of prisoners, including minors; and the demolition of houses as a form of collective punishment.

15. Moreover, the Secretary-General's report on detention, torture and other inhuman treatment of children in South Africa (E/CN.4/1991/9) led one to question the true intentions of Pretoria which, in spite of positive developments in the situation, allowed such activities to persist.

16. Underprivileged groups must be protected, regardless of race, sex or religion.

17. The 1989 Algerian Constitution proclaimed that the people intended to establish institutions based on the participation of citizens in the management of public affairs, ensuring social justice, equality and freedom for all. The Constitution recognized the primacy of law for ensuring legal protection and monitoring the activities of the authorities.

18. In post-colonial Algeria, the Algerian people had not been able, for a number of reasons, to be the source of power. Human rights had not always been fully protected. Algeria hoped that it had succeeded in overcoming the traditional ambivalence that characterized post-colonial societies.

19. In a balanced society, the right and duties of the governors and the governed went hand in hand. That fundamental principle must be observed not only at the base but also at the highest level of the State. That was why, in addition to its two independent human rights leagues, Algeria had established a ministry to deal exclusively with human rights issues. Its goal was to make the public more aware of those rights in order to prove that Algeria was worthy of recognition for its promotion of human rights both at home and abroad.

20. Mr. MAKKAWI (Lebanon) said that history had confirmed the aspirations of the authors - which included Lebanon - of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948. After decades of sterile ideological confrontation, the basic aspiration for individual freedom had re-emerged. As the Secretary-General had declared in his address two years earlier, on the occasion of the forty-first anniversary of the Declaration, respect for human rights would be one of the themes that would dominate national and international debates during the 1990s. The Declaration, together with the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, formed the backbone of numerous treaties and conventions that had been adopted by the United Nations since 1948.

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

21. No State could afford to ignore individual freedom, whether it took the form of aspiration for democratic institutions, or that of nationalism and respect for ethnic identity, or that of economic freedom. One of the major issues arising from that trend was the definition of a constantly evolving relationship between respect for individual freedoms and some of the attributes of State sovereignty. As the Secretary-General had pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization (A/46/1), in cases where human rights were massively violated with all impunity, the jurisdiction of States could not be regarded as a protective barrier from the active criticism of the international community.

22. His delegation expressed its interest in the World Conference on Human Rights, to be held at Berlin in 1993. His delegation had examined the report of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference and welcomed its idea of recommending to the General Assembly to reiterate its invitation for contributions of extrabudgetary resources to meet the cost of participation of representatives of least developed countries in the Conference, and to extend invitations to the chairmen of bodies established under international human rights agreements. It also supported the Preparatory Committee's decision to call for regional meetings in preparation for the Conference, and to encourage such participation within the framework of the Economic and Social Council for Western Asia (ESCWA) or with its assistance.

23. Lebanon was pleased that the Working Group on the Drafting of an International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Their Families had nearly completed its work. As international frontiers disappeared and economies became more interdependent, there was an urgent need for a legal framework that would enable national legislations to fight racial, religious or ethnic intolerance in cases involving migrant labour. Lebanon was also very concerned about the plight of women and children, who were the most vulnerable segment of its population and had been subjected to continuous trauma over 16 years of upheavals. Only the recent return of peace, law and stability had made it possible for Lebanon to begin to measure the magnitude of the disaster, with the assistance of UNICEF and other agencies, to which it extended its deep gratitude.

24. His delegation welcomed the completion by the open-ended working group of the Commission on Human Rights of the draft Declaration on the protection of all persons from enforced or involuntary disappearance. Lebanon, where disappearances and illegal abductions and detentions had been a common occurrence for years, looked forward, with the restoration of central authority following the Taif Agreement, to the very early release of the last hostages detained by illegal groups in the country.

25. His delegation deplored the fact that despite the end of violence and arbitrariness in the rest of the country, the human rights situation in the part of southern Lebanon under the control of Israel had gravely deteriorated. As the Israeli military authorities had later acknowledged,

(Mr. Makkawi, Lebanon)

Israeli troops had opened fire without provocation on entire villages, preventing any emergency food and medical supplies from reaching them, and had forced the deportation of the whole population of one village for no reason at all, at the very moment when Israeli delegates were smiling and talking of peace and cooperation at the Madrid peace conference. Shelling at any time of the day or night, curfews, kidnappings, expulsions, arbitrary detentions, torture, the barring of representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Amnesty International from visiting detention camps, the seizure and use of agricultural lands for military purposes, the diversion of water resources to Israel - the list of violations endured by the civilian population of southern Lebanon under Israeli occupation since 1978 was endless. Israel did not even bother to respond to the Economic and Social Council decision on the situation of human rights in southern Lebanon (Commission on Human Rights resolution 1991/66 of 6 March 1991), or to the note from the Secretary-General dated 11 September 1991 (A/46/446).

26. So long as Israel did not abide by the international will expressed in Security Council resolution 425 (1978) and withdraw unconditionally from Lebanon, human rights violations would continue to occur and on an even greater scale. As one of the founding Members of the United Nations and one of the signatories of the United Nations Charter, Lebanon wondered for how long another State, created by the United Nations in 1947 by General Assembly resolution 181 (II), would be allowed to perpetrate and perpetuate such human rights violations. Having endured the miseries of occupation and war, Lebanon was eager to use its experience to promote respect for the human rights that its society had always advocated in a practical and effective way.

27. Mr. VILLAGRAN DE LEON (Guatemala) observed that certain well-meaning countries were disturbed by the human rights situation in Guatemala, but that his Government was the first to be concerned about defusing the violence, putting an end to armed clashes by means of dialogue and negotiation, consolidating its democratic institutions, and improving its judicial system. It accepted the role and assistance of the United Nations in the protection of human rights and was on good terms of cooperation with the international human rights organizations. The situation in Guatemala was being followed closely by the Commission on Human Rights, which had named an independent Expert for that purpose, Mr. Christian Tomuschat, who had recently visited Guatemala. Far from denying or concealing the fact that a complex and painful situation existed, his delegation asked only that it should be considered with objectivity and without political bias.

28. Unfortunately, the problem of violence in Guatemala had been exaggerated and distorted abroad, especially in North America and Europe, by certain groups following a political agenda. Guatemala was experiencing a serious crime problem, the product of a difficult socio-economic situation; a growing number of violent acts were committed in the country by organized drug traffickers, rebel bands were engaged in violence and terrorism, and all was compounded by political violence for which the Government was not

(Mr. Villagran de Leon, Guatemala)

responsible. Those different sources of human rights violations were fed by a tradition of abuse of authority and illegitimate use of force by influential members of various social groups. It was that whole culture of impunity that his Government was currently trying to stamp out.

29. His Government could therefore not tolerate the automatic assumption that there was a political reason behind the acts of violence. Yet it readily acknowledged that the main obstacles to its efforts to improve the human rights situation were the armed uprising, the tradition of impunity, and the shortcomings of the judicial system.

30. Thanks to the work being done by the independent ombudsman and government human rights agencies, there was increasing recognition of the need to adopt a system of rights guarantees. The Government had launched a large-scale education project in the field of human rights (seminars for teachers, publications, radio and television broadcasts). The Attorney General was endeavouring, for his part, to consolidate the judicial system. The Government had, moreover, established a Presidential Commission to investigate human rights violations and devise a system of human rights guarantees.

31. To be sure, some serious human rights violations continued to be committed, but the independent ombudsman named by the Congress of Guatemala had found in his report that their number had diminished during the past year, a fact confirmed by various independent observers. Under the circumstances, how could it be said that the situation had deteriorated? In any case, his Government would not be satisfied simply with reducing the acts of violence, and it would intensify its efforts to put an end to the violence, re-establish peace and bring about reconciliation.

32. It was in that spirit that the Government of President Serrano had launched its "total peace initiative", aimed not only at putting an end to the armed struggle but also at laying the bases for reconciliation and peaceful coexistence in Guatemala. The Government has entered into direct negotiations with the rebel groups, and the negotiations were being pursued through a national commission attended by an observer sent by the United Nations Secretary-General. Convinced that there was no justification for the armed conflict, the Government remained true to its commitment to promote a negotiated settlement. However, the rebel groups must show their political will by taking realistic rather than dogmatic positions and by renouncing terrorism. Despite the end of the ideological confrontation between East and West, the thinking of certain social groups did not yet conform to the new situation and they were holding on to positions dating from the cold war.

33. His Government appreciated the support given by the international community to the peace process in Central America and to the negotiations aimed at total peace in Guatemala.

34. Mr. MONTAÑO (Mexico) welcomed the emergence of a new international order which was both democratic and diversified. Pluralism, national sovereignty and respect for the rights of the minorities and the specific characteristics of each nation were essential to political development. However, economic stagnation and, above all, impoverishment threatened the social equilibrium. Without development, human rights would remain precarious, and the political culture which should underlie democratic institutions would not see the light of day.

35. The international community, which had applauded all the victories of democracy and of human rights and fundamental freedoms, had unfortunately failed to grasp the extent to which development was essential to reinforcing such progress. Free elections alone would not resolve the harrowing problems of poverty, as the painful example of Haiti had shown.

36. Mexico believed that the electoral assistance which the United Nations could provide was useful, but in that regard recalled that, in accordance with General Assembly resolutions 44/146 and 44/147, countries had the right to determine their political, economic and social systems without external interference, and that, as affirmed by the Secretary-General in paragraph 79 of his report on enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections (A/46/609), requests for electoral assistance should pertain "primarily to situations with a clear international dimension".

37. He stressed that the principle of the sovereignty of States should remain inviolable, quoting in that regard the report of the Secretary-General (A/46/1), according to which "violations of human rights imperil peace, while disregard of the sovereignty of States would spell chaos", and the defence of human rights should not "become a platform for encroaching on the essential domestic jurisdiction of States and eroding their sovereignty", for nothing would be a surer prescription for anarchy.

38. The World Conference on Human Rights to be held in 1993 would provide a forum for consideration of the relationship between development and the universal enjoyment of economic, social and cultural rights, as well as civil and political rights, and for a review of the mechanisms for protecting fundamental freedoms and the formulation of recommendations with a view to creating the conditions which would enable all peoples of the world to enjoy such rights. It should create a full awareness of the importance of economic recovery in terms of respect for human rights. It was in that area that international cooperation could be the most fruitful over the years to come.

39. In view of the wide disparity in socio-economic development, it was essential to ensure the protection of the human rights of the most vulnerable groups, particularly migrants, whose number had greatly increased following the upheavals of recent years. The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families and all activities aimed at protecting indigenous people, notably the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, were therefore important.

(Mr. Montaño, Mexico)

40. Convinced that respect for human rights in El Salvador was linked to a peace process, the Mexican Government had supported all efforts made, through the mediation of the Secretary-General, to achieve a political solution to the internal conflict which ravaged that country. It hoped that the United Nations Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) would contribute to the re-establishment of peace.

41. The commitment of the Mexican Government to human rights was confirmed by the creation of a National Human Rights Commission, and by the draft law which was intended to confer constitutional status on that Commission. Other draft federal legislation also concerned human rights (prevention and punishment of torture, reform of the Penal Code and of the law on the protection of minors). In addition, Mexico was a party to the main international conventions on human rights and accepted the control mechanisms of the United Nations.

42. The changes in the contemporary world and United Nations activities in the field of human rights were justified by the principles that had governed the creation of the United Nations, which should be maintained in respecting the sovereign equality of States, whilst avoiding the use of fundamental human values as a means of political pressure.

43. Mr. JESUS (Cape Verde) said he was glad to note that human rights were no longer regarded as a taboo, which if even mentioned in the General Assembly in the past, would have constituted interference in the internal affairs of States. Instead, they were now regarded as one of the most serious world problems of the day. Such increased national and international awareness, which was largely due to the determination and dedication of non-governmental organizations, would greatly help to improve the situation.

44. Today, no one would dare to deny human rights, but those ready to act in their defence were few. Violations of human rights, whether the victims were political opponents or ethnic minorities, were only too frequent. All too often, despite policies announced enthusiastically and the laws promulgated to implement them, violations of human rights were tolerated for reasons of State. Respect for human rights could not be applied selectively. The national interest should not override the will of the "peoples of the United Nations", who had proclaimed in the Charter their faith in "fundamental human rights (and) in the dignity and worth of the human person".

45. Of all the recent violations of human rights, the massacre in East Timor, where over 100 innocent civilians had been killed or wounded by Indonesian forces, was of particular concern to Cape Verde, which had shared the history of East Timor during five centuries of Portuguese colonization. Cape Verde had condemned such atrocities in a joint declaration with Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome and Principe. It urged the Indonesian Government to put an end to its violence against a peace-loving people, whose only crime was their attachment to freedom and their determination to exercise

(Mr. Jesus, Cape Verde)

their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. It was regrettable that the events in East Timor had met with silence from the international community, which could not proclaim its commitment to human rights without demanding that such rights should be respected in East Timor.

46. Mr. GOSHU (Ethiopia) said that over the past 17 years, Ethiopia had been the arena for serious human rights violations, particularly mass murders, arbitrary detention and disappearances. Today, however, the situation had improved remarkably. In May 1991, the armed forces of the Ethiopian Peoples Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) had put an end to the authoritarian regime of Mengistu Haile Miriam. The Front had assumed power, and one month later, had organized a national conference bringing together over 20 ethnic groups, organizations and political movements to deliberate on the political future of Ethiopia. The conference had negotiated political arrangements for the next two years, following which free and fair elections would be organized. It had adopted a national charter which, in clear and unambiguous terms, defined the fundamental rights of Ethiopians. It had also established a Transitional Government with a pluralistic Cabinet and Council of Representatives.

47. The charter began with a tribute to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and to the individual rights which were the very essence of its principles. It guaranteed, inter alia, freedom of conscience, expression, association and peaceful assembly, the right to engage in political activities without restriction and the right to organize political parties.

48. Beyond individual rights, the Ethiopian charter very emphatically affirmed the right of nations, nationalities and peoples to self-determination. It recognized the right of all ethnic groups and all nationalities in Ethiopia to provide their culture and history, manage their own regional affairs and participate in government on the basis of the principles of freedom and fair representation. The charter clearly spelled out their right to determine their own future, even if that meant independence. Within that general framework, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia and the Provisional Government of Eritrea had signed an agreement on the future of Eritrea, which would be determined by the inhabitants of Eritrea in an internationally supervised referendum.

49. In the past six months, the Transitional Government of Ethiopia had more than proved its commitment to the principles of the Charter of July 1991. The current political scene in Ethiopia was characterized by a proliferation of political organizations propagating the most diverse views. The press was free and lively, and the debate on Ethiopia's future was proceeding enthusiastically in an atmosphere of unprecedented tolerance. Finally, the country had never seen so many demonstrations of all kinds.

50. The peaceful transformation of Ethiopia was beginning to have an impact in the Horn of Africa. In proclaiming its commitment to the principle of

(Mr. Goshu, Ethiopia)

peaceful coexistence and the pursuit of mutually advantageous relations with its neighbours, Ethiopia had created a favourable political climate. Moreover, the decision by the Transitional Government to waive visa restrictions for citizens of neighbouring countries - which had already been done for Kenya and had been reciprocated by the Sudan - was conducive to the free flow of people and ideas.

51. A number of national leaders had, at one time or another, been victims of arrest, torture or persecution. Consequently, there was a clear determination to prevent any recurrence of the tragedies recently experienced by the Ethiopian people by the institution of the necessary safeguards such as human rights monitoring groups and a national human rights commission.

52. In one of its early statements, the Transitional Government had announced its intention of acceding to and ratifying the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and all other human rights instruments.

53. Thanks to the pragmatism and sense of organization of EPRDF, the bloodbath that had been widely feared in the final days of the Mengistu regime had been avoided. There had been no reprisals and there would be none. Senior officials of the previous Government had no doubt been arrested and placed in custody pending investigation. Those accused of wrongful or criminal acts would be tried openly by an independent judiciary in civilian courts and international human rights organizations would be authorized to send observers if they so wished.

54. His delegation looked forward to the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993, which would serve to promote individual rights and contribute to the improvement and implementation of human rights standards.

55. Ethiopia was in need of the technical assistance and advisory services provided by the Centre for Human Rights, to which it would, at an appropriate time, submit detailed requests for training and technical cooperation.

56. Mr. VAN LIEROP (Vanuatu), recalling that, in the nineteenth century, the American humanist, Thoreau, had allowed himself to be thrown into prison rather than be part of a society which tolerated slavery, denounced those who, in modern times, found rationalizations for their inactivity against apartheid and other human rights violations.

57. How could the international community, so committed in word to fundamental freedoms, have remained silent in 1975 when Indonesia had invaded East Timor? Would the universality of the principles of the United Nations remain an empty word? Indonesia had now repeated its offence: on 12 November, its security forces had massacred 80 to 100 unarmed demonstrators who were protesting the death by shooting of a 16-year-old youth two weeks earlier while he was seeking sanctuary in a church. On that recent occasion, however, the world had been witness to the horror.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

58. Indonesia had announced that the Commander of its armed forces would launch an inquiry into the matter. However, while not wishing to accuse every member of the Indonesian armed forces of involvement, his delegation believed that an independent inquiry would be more credible. Vanuatu was on friendly terms with both East Timor and Indonesia. Over the years it had almost always found itself agreeing with Indonesia on all the issues debated in the General Assembly. The question of East Timor was an exception to that rule; to remain silent on that tragedy would be to deny the history and principles of Vanuatu. The events had been secretly filmed by two journalists, who had risked their lives in the process. His delegation did not fully comprehend why, despite existing precedents, the Secretariat had been unable to arrange a screening of the film for the Third Committee. However, exceptional procedures were justified in order to expose the truth about such serious events. The delegations of Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Portugal, Sao Tome and Principe and Vanuatu invited delegations to a screening later that same day, at which the two journalists would be present. His delegation appealed to the people of East Timor and Indonesia to join forces in a search for a peaceful solution, based on respect for the legitimate aspirations of the people of East Timor and the principles and practices of the United Nations, but without overlooking the political realities and legitimate interests of Indonesia.

59. The question of East Timor highlighted the international community's inability to find comprehensive and coherent solutions to problems of that nature. The reaction of the United Nations to that crisis would indicate whether it had learned any lessons from the tragic conflict in the Gulf.

60. The end of the year holidays were approaching, but in many parts of the world, the disadvantaged had very little reason to celebrate - whether they were Palestinians, South Africans or the inhabitants of East Timor. On every continent, senseless ethnic conflicts were inflamed by the hateful rhetoric of self-serving demagogues.

61. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights would provide an opportunity to improve the protection of human rights throughout the world. Like the Nordic countries, whose views had been expressed by the Ambassador of Sweden, Vanuatu believed that the efforts should be largely focused on the implementation of existing international instruments. Unfortunately, Governments often lagged behind peoples when it came to taking initiatives to protect human rights.

62. Even in their own countries, champions of human rights were not always well received, particularly by those wielding power. He therefore saluted the courage of those who, in anonymity or at the risk of being ostracized, imprisoned or even killed, were at the cutting edge of the struggle. As Thoreau had said, in a country where even one person was unjustly imprisoned, the true place for a just man was also a prison.

(Mr. Van Lierop, Vanuatu)

63. The international community must unite in order to obtain the rapid release of all those who were still unjustly imprisoned because of their struggle for human rights.

64. Mr. GANSUKH (Mongolia) welcomed the holding in 1993 of the World Conference on Human Rights, which would offer the world community an opportunity to take stock of its achievements and shortcomings in the field of human rights, and the preparatory process for which would open up new possibilities for the formulation of national, regional and global policies.

65. While much had certainly been done to codify the implementation of human rights, a whole set of new measures was required in order to improve the situation, which remained very alarming. The World Conference should lead to positive results in that regard.

66. For the second consecutive year, Mongolia was instituting profound political, social and economic reforms. The main task had become one of consolidating the democratization of the country and establishing the legal and other foundations which would rule out any return to the old order. In that regard, the constitution which was being elaborated was of great importance and Mongolia was grateful to the Centre for Human Rights for its assistance in drafting the text, lending its support for a seminar on human rights and translating a number of human rights documents into Mongolian.

AGENDA ITEM 92: ELIMINATION OF RACISM AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION (continued) (A/C.3/46/L.9/Rev.1)

67. The CHAIRMAN said that draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.9/Rev.1 introduced by Gabon on behalf of the Group of African States was the product of far-reaching consultations between delegations and that, if he heard no objection, he would take it that the Committee wished to adopt the text without a vote.

68. Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.9/Rev.1 was adopted.

69. Mr. VAN DER HEIJDEN (Netherlands), speaking on behalf of the member States of the European Community in explanation of vote after the vote, emphasized that the Twelve supported the efforts made by the United Nations to combat racism and racial discrimination and, in particular, the second Decade proclaimed for that purpose. For that reason, they had immediately contacted the sponsors of the draft resolution to suggest that paragraph 18, which did not take into account the positive developments in the situation in South Africa, should be reworded. The Twelve thanked the Group of African States for the constructive attitude it had taken, particularly in regard to that paragraph, which had enabled the member States of the European Community to support the draft resolution as they had done in previous years.

70. Mr. SIGURDSSON (Iceland), speaking on behalf of the Nordic countries in explanation of vote after the vote, emphasized that the draft resolution had been the subject of far-reaching consultations in which the Nordic countries had actively participated and that it took into consideration the concerns they had expressed. He thanked the sponsors for their cooperation which had enabled the Committee, as in previous years, to adopt the draft resolution without a vote.

71. Mr. BURTON (United States of America) said that his country had not participated in the discussions nor in the adoption of the draft resolution; it had not participated in the adoption of resolutions concerning the First and Second Decades or activities undertaken in connection with them since 1975, the year in which the General Assembly, in resolution 3379 (XXX), had stated that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination. President Bush had asked for that resolution to be repealed immediately and his delegation reiterated that position.

72. Mr. NAIM (Israel) said that, while maintaining its outright condemnation of racism in all its forms, Israel felt compelled to refrain from participating in the vote on the draft resolution concerning the Second Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, since it was linked to General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) which maliciously equated zionism with racism.

INTRODUCTION OF DRAFT RESOLUTIONS

AGENDA ITEM 98 (a): IMPLEMENTATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.40

73. Mr. SIGURDSSON (Iceland), introducing the draft resolution on behalf of its sponsors, which also included New Zealand, recalled that the United Nations Voluntary Fund for Victims of Torture had been established in 1981 by General Assembly resolution 36/151. The Fund, which was administered by the Secretary-General and a Board of Trustees, provided humanitarian, legal and financial aid to victims of torture and to their relatives, and its activities were detailed in the report of the Secretary-General (A/46/618).

74. The Board of Trustees, having noted that regular contributions facilitated support for large-scale projects in the long term, was asking donors to pay the contributions they had pledged as rapidly as possible since pledges could not be taken into account in long-term planning. The draft resolution was similar to resolutions which had been adopted in previous years on the same subject. After reading paragraphs 1, 2 and 4, he said that the sponsors hoped that it would be adopted without a vote.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.41

75. Mr. KESSEL (Canada) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.41 entitled "Effective implementation of international instruments on human rights, including reporting obligations under international instruments on human rights" on behalf of the sponsors.

76. The draft text reflected the concerns generally expressed in previous years in resolutions of the Third Committee, the Economic and Social Council and the Commission on Human Rights regarding the effective implementation of international instruments on human rights. The effective implementation of resolutions on the issue was an essential condition for the implementation of those instruments. The draft text reaffirmed that it was the responsibility of the General Assembly to ensure the proper functioning of all human rights treaty bodies and that to that end it was necessary to have an effective system of reporting and sufficient resources. The draft resolution called on the Assembly to endorse the conclusions and recommendations of the second and third meetings of persons chairing the human rights treaty bodies aimed at streamlining, rationalizing and otherwise improving reporting procedures and requested the Secretary-General to give high priority to establishing a computerized database to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the treaty bodies. Paragraphs 11 and 12 stressed the fact that it was important to put arrangements for meeting the costs of implementing the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment on a viable basis by drawing on the United Nations regular budget.

77. Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.41 had no financial implications for either the current budget or that for the biennium 1992-1993 and he hoped that it would be adopted by consensus as had been the case with similar resolutions in previous years.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.42

78. Ms. BOGARDE (Sweden) introduced the draft resolution entitled "Implementation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child" on behalf of the 68 sponsors and announced that Belgium, Benin, Guinea, Ireland, Lesotho, Paraguay and Samoa had joined the sponsors. After reading out several of the provisions, she pointed out that 57 reports of States parties were due to be submitted in 1992; that problem was referred to in the interim report of the Committee on the Rights of the Child (CRC/C/7), which had not yet been submitted to the General Assembly since it had to be submitted through the Economic and Social Council. The sponsors of the draft resolution considered that steps would have to be taken to deal with the situation resulting from the success of the Convention.

79. Regarding measures to be taken for 1992, operative paragraph 12 of the draft resolution was concerned with the financing of the working group of the whole of the Committee but not with the duration of the Committee's sessions,

(Ms. Bogarde, Sweden)

which under article 43, paragraph 10, of the Convention, was to be determined by the States parties and approved by the General Assembly. Since the working group would be able to meet for the three weeks already approved by the States parties, that provision related only to the additional travel costs of 10 experts. The sponsors understood that a statement of programme budget implications would be submitted to the Third Committee. As to arrangements for 1993 and beyond (covered by operative paragraphs 9, 10 and 11), no decision could be taken on the duration of sessions until the matter had been considered by the States parties and an interim report constituting the first part of the Committee's first biannual report had been approved by the Economic and Social Council, which would consider the interim report at its session in 1992. A brief meeting of the States parties would have to be convened to approve the Committee's recommendations concerning the duration of its session before the Third Committee took up the question at the forty-seventh session of the General Assembly. For the cost of that meeting to be covered from existing resources, it would have to be held as one of the meetings already allocated to the Third Committee. The Secretary-General would submit a report on the status of the Convention to the General Assembly at its forty-seventh session under the agenda item entitled "Human rights questions".

80. The sponsors of draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.42 hoped that it would be adopted by consensus.

AGENDA ITEM 98 (b): HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.3/Rev.1

81. Mr. OLIYNYK (Ukraine) introduced draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.3/Rev.1, entitled "Non-discrimination and protection of minorities", on behalf of the sponsors, who had been joined by the Philippines. He thanked those delegations which had shown interest in the draft resolution, an Ukrainian initiative that went back to the forty-fifth session of the General Assembly. In an effort to win unanimous acceptance of the draft resolution, the sponsors had removed the provisions that had constituted an obstacle to consensus and had focused on the main objective, which was to complete the final text of the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities. In the preamble, reference was made to article 27 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the only text dealing with minorities. It was appropriate in that regard to underline the role of legal instruments already in existence.

82. While regretting the slow pace of the elaboration of the draft declaration, he felt that it was entirely possible to complete that process as the draft declaration was intended only to set out in a general manner the main principles of the protection of minorities and ways and means of ensuring such protection; only afterwards would specific legal provisions be developed for its implementation.

(Mr. Oliynyk, Ukraine)

83. He expressed the hope that the draft resolution would be adopted by consensus.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.26*

84. Mrs. WARZAZI (Morocco), introducing draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.26*, entitled "World Conference on Human Rights", announced that Algeria, Argentina, Bangladesh, Benin, Burundi, China, Latvia, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Pakistan, the Philippines, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Vanuatu had joined the sponsors.

85. A major step forward had been taken since 1989, when her country had put forward the idea of a world conference on human rights. In September 1991, the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference had adopted, without a vote, six decisions that were now before the General Assembly.

86. The preambular part of the draft resolution submitted to the Third Committee recalled principles dear to the Committee and welcomed the appointment of the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights as Secretary-General of the World Conference. The operative part reflected the Preparatory Committee's six decisions, while placing emphasis on the participation of representatives of the least developed countries in the preparatory meetings, including regional meetings and the World Conference itself. She hoped that the draft resolution would receive unanimous approval.

87. Adoption of the draft resolution would not automatically mean approval of document A/C.3/46/L.35, concerning the programme budget implications of the draft resolution. It was, of course, for the Fifth Committee to decide on the budget of the Conference. Nevertheless, it should be noted that of the four meetings referred to in paragraph 13 of document A/C.3/46/L.35, three would in fact be held away from headquarters (in Costa Rica for Latin America and the Caribbean, in Tunisia for Africa and in Bulgaria for Europe). Furthermore, most of the sponsors of the draft resolution felt that the estimates set forth in document A/C.3/46/L.35 were too low. She hoped that all the sponsors of the draft resolution would urge the delegations participating in the work of the Fifth Committee to augment the budget of the Conference.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.34

88. Mr. FERNANDEZ (Cuba), speaking on behalf of the sponsors, who had been joined by the Islamic Republic of Iran, introduced draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.34, entitled "Alternative approaches and ways and means within the United Nations system for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms". Since the General Assembly's historic resolution 32/130 the majority of Member States had regularly reaffirmed their support for similar resolutions on that question.

(Mr. Fernandez, Cuba)

89. In the draft resolution before the Committee, the sponsors were defending two basic ideas, the first being that all human rights and fundamental freedoms were indivisible and interdependent. The archaic conception of human rights as having a purely individual dimension had been superseded by recent events, whence the second key idea of the draft resolution, namely that among the most important of the collective rights of peoples was the right to development. That presupposed a more just international economic order and a solution to North/South imbalances.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.36

90. Ms. VASSILIOU (Greece), introducing the draft resolution concerning the strengthening of the Centre for Human Rights, on behalf of the sponsors, who had been joined by Algeria, Benin and Yugoslavia, read out some of the provisions of the draft resolution, all of which pointed to the fact that the Centre's workload had continued to increase by reason of decisions of intergovernmental and expert bodies and that it must be provided with the necessary staff and financial resources to enable it to carry out its numerous functions. That was stated more particularly in operative paragraph 2, in which the Secretary-General was requested, when preparing his proposals for the following year, to ensure that sufficient resources were accorded to the Centre to enable it to carry out all of its mandates, including the additional ones entrusted to it after the finalisation of the proposed programme budget for 1992-1993. She also pointed out that the title of the draft resolution ("Strengthening of the Centre for Human Rights") differed from that of the previous year's resolution ("Developments relating to the activities of the Centre for Human Rights of the Secretariat"), the sponsors having felt that the title should be changed to indicate more clearly the aim of the resolution.

91. She added that, by recalling resolution 45/248 B in the third preambular paragraph, the authors wished to show their respect for the decision of the General Assembly concerning non-involvement in the areas of competence of its Main Committees, and particularly of the Fifth Committee. It had never been their intention not to respect that Committee's competence. The sponsors had therefore been very careful in drafting the text of draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.36. They believed that the Main Committees should work in close cooperation when dealing with issues that were of concern to all of them. Furthermore, it was only natural that the Committee which dealt with human rights questions should be concerned about adequate staffing for the Centre for Human Rights to enable it to carry out effectively, in full and on time, all the mandates assigned to it by Member States.

92. While some steps had been taken to increase the human and financial resources of the Centre, those had been quite inadequate. The conversion of temporary posts to established posts, although a positive step, had not resulted in an increase in the manpower of the Centre. The statistics showed that in 1990 the number of meetings serviced had increased by 84 per cent over

(Ms. Vassiliou, Greece)

the 1985 total, advisory services and technical assistance by 900 per cent, and special procedures mandates by 300 per cent. Established posts in 1990-1991 (76 in total) had decreased by 6 per cent since the period 1982-1983 (a total of 81 at that time). Under those circumstances, the efforts of the Centre to carry out its increased responsibilities were indeed commendable. Under the able leadership of the Under-Secretary-General, the Centre had been reorganized and it was using its human resources to the fullest possible extent. The Under-Secretary-General and his staff had worked closely with the Management Advisory Service in reviewing the organization and staffing of the Centre. The authors of draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.36 believed that if it was difficult to allocate to the Centre the additional resources needed to carry out its increased responsibilities, the Committee should stop assigning to it additional mandates. That of course would mean that it should stop promoting further the cause of human rights, which the international community could not afford to do at a time when the United Nations was required to strengthen its role in that area in view of the current changes in the international climate and the rise of democracy in many parts of the world and in view of the fact that the Secretary-General in his most recent report on the work of the Organization (A/46/1) had said that the protection of human rights had now become one of the keystones in the arch of peace and that the Under-Secretary-General for Human Rights, in his introductory statement, had said that the human rights programme was increasingly seen by world public opinion as a test of the Organization's effectiveness. That was why the 61 sponsors from all regional groups appealed to the Fifth Committee, when examining the proposals of the Secretary-General, to ensure that the Centre's human and financial resources would permit it to carry out all its mandates, old, new and additional ones, since the responsibility lay with all States Members of the Organization, which had pledged themselves under the Charter to promote and respect human rights, to work towards that objective.

93. The draft resolution had no financial implications for the budget of the current biennium and she hoped that it would be adopted without a vote, as it had been in the Economic and Social Council and in the Commission on Human Rights.

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.38

94. Mr. KRENKEL (Austria), introducing draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.38 entitled "Human rights in the administration of justice" on behalf of the sponsors, said that the draft resolution sought to draw attention once again to the many international norms that existed in the area of the administration of justice and were an integral part of the system of protection of human rights. He drew attention, in particular, to operative paragraphs 1, 2, 3 and 7 (a), (b) and (c).

95. Since the results of the Ministerial Meeting at Paris were still pending, the sponsors had not touched upon the subject of the creation of a new and effective crime prevention and criminal justice programme and its possible

(Mr. Krenkel, Austria)

impact on the activities of the United Nations in the field of the administration of justice.

96. The fourth line of paragraph 5 should read: "particular attention to the effective implementation of existing standards and instruments in the field of human rights".

Draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.39

97. Mr. LAZARO (Peru), introducing draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.39 entitled "Human rights and extreme poverty" on behalf of the sponsors, said that the Dominican Republic, Paraguay and Senegal had joined the sponsors of the draft resolution.

98. He recalled resolution 1991/14 adopted by the Commission on Human Rights at its forty-seventh session, to which the draft resolution presented to the Third Committee added nothing to the substance. The primary objective of the draft was to request the Commission on Human Rights to give appropriate consideration, in directing its studies of extreme poverty, to the causes which, combined with poverty, exacerbated social conflict and created situations of violence which affected the life of peoples and States. It did not seek to prejudge the orientation of the work of the experts but rather to suggest themes of reflection for the plan of work to be adopted during the initial phase of the proposed studies. The authors of the draft had been careful to avoid expressing any preferences and had merely sought to introduce an element which obviously needed to be taken into account in the studies to be undertaken.

99. It was his delegation's hope that the draft resolution would be adoped by consensus.

100. Mr. FONTAINE ORTIZ (Cuba) drew attention to the letter from the Controller addressed to the Chairman of the Third Committee on the programme budget implications of draft resolutions A/C.3/46/3. During the current year, several resolutions again contained provisions which, in the view of his delegation, were linked to questions that were within the competence of the Fifth Committee. That was why the delegation of Cuba was officially requesting that the Third Committee should be addressed by the Controller, or, failing that, another senior official responsible for budgetary questions, before it took a decision on the paragraphs in question and without prejudice to their relevance to the substance of the draft resolution.

101. Ms. VASSILIOU (Greece), replying to the statement made by the representative of Cuba, said that the letter of the Controller concerned those draft resolutions that had programme budget implications. It did not concern draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.36. While acknowledging the usefulness of hearing the view of the competent officer in the Office of the Controller on certain questions of procedure, Greece was officially requesting that the Third Committee should invite the Legal Counsel to give his view.

102. Mr. FONTAINE ORTIZ (Cuba) said that he had not referred to a particular draft resolution. Nevertheless, he would support the proposal of the representative of Greece in so far as the views of the Legal Counsel would also be useful to the Third Committee.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

UNITED NATIONS

General Assembly

FORTY-SIXTH SESSION

Official Records

THIRD COMMITTEE
50th meeting
held on
Monday, 25 November 1991
at 3 p.m.
New York

SUMMARY RECORD OF THE 50th MEETING

Chairman:	Mr. SLABY (Vice-Chairman)	(Czechoslovakia)
later:	Mr. AL-SHAALI (Chairman)	(United Arab Emirates)

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The meeting was called to order at 3.05 p.m.

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(b) HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS, INCLUDING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVE ENJOYMENT OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND FUNDAMENTAL FREEDOMS (continued) (A/46/3 (chap. VI, sect. C), A/46/24, 473, 542, 543, 603, 609 and Add.1 and 2, 616 and Corr.1, 420, 421, 422, 504; A/C.3/46/L.2, L.3/Rev.1, L.26*, L.34-L.36, L.38, L.39)

(c) HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATIONS AND REPORTS OF SPECIAL RAPPORTEURS AND REPRESENTATIVES (continued) (A/46/3 (chap. VI, sect. C), A/46/401, 446, 529, 544, 606, 647)

1. Mr. FLOREAN (Romania) said that interest in the field of human rights had been increasing gradually over the past 40 years and had finally become a universal concern. It was therefore not surprising that the chief goals of the Romanian revolution had been the establishment of a democratic society and the promotion and protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Respect for human rights in his country was a long-standing tradition, which had survived four decades of dictatorship. None the less, building a democratic regime, and in particular establishing adequate institutions for promoting and protecting human rights, was a difficult and time-consuming task. His Government was the first to admit its shortcomings in that regard. Yet, its good will and firm decision to achieve a democratic society was not open to question and it looked to the international community for support in that endeavour.

2. His country appreciated the efforts of the Centre for Human Rights, which had provided Romania with experts to assist in the 1990 elections and the drafting of the Constitution and had, in cooperation with Romania's Supreme Court and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, organized a seminar on human rights standards for judges. An agreement for longer-term cooperation between the Centre and his country had recently been concluded.

3. Romania attached great importance to the human dimension of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Within the CSCE framework, new measures had recently been adopted for monitoring human rights performance and, in that connection, his Government had reiterated its determination to ensure full compliance at the national level with European and United Nations standards for democracy, human rights and the rule of law and to contribute to their implementation abroad. It was looking forward to full membership in the Council of Europe and would participate actively in its activities.

(Mr. Florean, Romania)

4. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights was another step towards democracy and justice world wide. His Government welcomed wholeheartedly the decision to convene the Conference at Berlin. The Conference offered an opportunity not only to review progress in the field of human rights but also to assess the need for improving United Nations instruments and mechanisms in that field, taking advantage of the current favourable climate to strengthen the protection of human rights in the next century.

5. The Romanian Parliament had just adopted a new Constitution, thereby establishing a multi-party system and a free-market economy. Under the Constitution, human rights and fundamental freedoms were protected, in conformity with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the human rights instruments to which Romania was a party. In the event of any conflict between the provisions of international agreements and domestic legislation, the former would prevail. The Constitution abolished the death penalty. It provided special protection for and granted particular rights to certain groups, including children, youth, the disabled the national minorities. It also guaranteed freedom of conscience and religious belief.

6. One of the most effective guarantees of the democratic society was the full realization of the principle of periodic and genuine elections, which gave citizens control over the manner in which the State guaranteed their rights. His Government had accordingly been one of the sponsors of General Assembly resolution 45/150; it favoured a wider role for the United Nations in regard to assisting with electoral processes or institutions. Such assistance could in no way be regarded as interference in the internal affairs of that State, provided that it was granted at the request of the State concerned and was supported by a broad spectrum of the population in the requesting country. Efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations in enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections should take into account past experience and the views of States. In addition, the United Nations should cooperate fully with intergovernmental organizations at the regional level, among them the Office for Free Elections in Warsaw, established by CSCE.

7. In the coming months, his country would be holding local and general elections and a constitutional referendum. In that context, it welcomed the presence of observers from CSCE, the United Nations and other international, governmental and non-governmental organizations.

8. Mr. FORTIER (Canada) said that the changes that had occurred in Central and Eastern Europe were an example of how political will could bring about the establishment of democracy and the promotion of human rights. Encouraged by the newly won independence of the Baltic States, his Government hoped that those States would in time sign and ratify the various United Nations human rights instruments. It welcomed the progress made in the Soviet Union with respect to fundamental human rights and the rule of law, but was none the less concerned about continuing reports of human rights violations in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan and ongoing violence in other regions.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

9. His Government was deeply concerned by the current crisis in Yugoslavia and urged all the parties involved to begin negotiations with a view to a peaceful and comprehensive settlement. The guarantee of minority rights was crucial to resolving the conflict.

10. His country welcomed the movement towards political and economic pluralism in Africa. However, serious violations of human rights, including torture and imprisonment of prisoners of conscience, were still prevalent in several countries. While applauding the release early in 1991 of political prisoners in Malawi, his Government was troubled by limitations on fundamental freedoms and violations of human rights in that country. It urged the parties to the conflict in Zaire to agree on the composition of a Government in order to re-establish order and put an end to human rights abuses. It called upon the Government of Kenya to ensure full respect for human rights and to cease repressing those citizens who advocated such changes. The situation in the Horn of Africa continued to be a matter of concern, as was that in Sudan and Somalia and, in that connection, his Government appealed to the parties involved to engage in a serious peace process.

11. In the past year, South Africa had made major strides in the area of human rights. However, much remained to be done: political violence still claimed far too many lives; black South Africans still did not have the right to vote; and apartheid continued in the fields of education and social welfare. The immediate release of all political prisoners was imperative. Genuine constitutional negotiations should begin at the earliest possible date and with the widest possible participation.

12. Even though its Government had instituted a new human rights policy, Peru still held for the past two years in a row the record for disappearances and deaths at the hands of the military forces and terrorist groups continued unabated. It could only be hoped that the proposed economic reforms would help alleviate the underlying causes of human rights violations in that country.

13. The human rights situation in Guatemala and El Salvador was also a matter of concern. The progress in talks between the Governments and the revolutionary movements in those countries were positive steps; Canada was particularly pleased that the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional had declared a unilateral truce. Nevertheless, disappearances, kidnappings and extrajudicial executions continued in both countries. In Guatemala, the judiciary was in dire need of reform and adequate financing. The Government had taken some action by appointing an independent human rights procurator.

14. The trial and conviction of the individuals responsible for the murder of Jesuit priests in El Salvador was encouraging. Despite unanswered questions regarding the involvement of the armed forces, the trial might signal the end of military impunity and the start of a move towards civilian control in El Salvador.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

15. His country was dismayed by the violent events in Haiti, which had relegated human rights to a dream. The international community must do everything within its power to promote respect for human rights in that country.

16. Canada was concerned about continuing human rights abuses in Iraq, in particular the suppression of the rights of the Kurds and the Shia; it called upon Iraq to institute real democratic reforms and to respect the human rights of all its citizens. Until that time, it would be difficult to reintegrate Iraq into the international community.

17. The lifting of martial law in June 1991 had improved the human rights situation in Kuwait; however, there was as yet incomplete respect for due process of law. Canada was particularly concerned about alleged abuses in Kuwait, including collective punishment meted out to certain groups.

18. Canada urged Iran to cooperate fully with the United Nations Special Representative and with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). It was concerned about alleged violations of the fundamental right to life and about the treatment of religious minorities and of women. The situation in Iran should be carefully monitored by the international community.

19. Canada had strongly supported efforts to reach a just, lasting and comprehensive settlement in the Middle East. However, until that time, the provisions of the Fourth Geneva Convention should apply de jure in the occupied territories. Violations by Israel of the Convention and the violence engendered by the current situation were matters of the greatest concern.

20. Canada was also concerned by allegations of human rights violations in Syria, in particular those relating to the conditions of detention and the judicial process.

21. Serious violations of human rights, carried out by both sides in the conflict, continued in Afghanistan. Canada strongly supported the Secretary-General's plan for a cease-fire and the establishment of an interim Government leading to self-determination.

22. Canada continued to be alarmed by human rights abuses in Sri Lanka, carried out by the armed forces and the principal Tamil secessionist group. It had called on both groups to ensure that the rights of civilians were protected.

23. His country was deeply troubled by recent events in East Timor, where the Indonesian army had killed or injured several dozen citizens. Along with other countries, it had called for a thorough, objective and transparent investigation of that situation.

(Mr. Fortier, Canada)

24. While welcoming the comprehensive peace settlement in Cambodia and the modest improvement in that country's human rights situation, Canada continued to be concerned by and to condemn violations of human rights by all factions, in particular the Khmer Rouge.

25. His Government welcomed the continued improvement in the overall human rights situation in Viet Nam, but viewed with concern such aspects as the plight of religious leaders and the detention of members of certain religious groups.

26. The continued violence in Kashmir and the Punjab region of India was also of concern. Canada urged the Indian Government to ensure that human rights were respected and that reported violations were investigated fully. Canada was particularly distressed by the rate of so-called dowry deaths in India and urged the Government to take appropriate steps to deal with that situation.

27. The continued repression of democracy in Myanmar was a tragedy. Canada called on the Government to release all political prisoners.

28. Canada was deeply troubled by reports of human rights violations in China, particularly in Tibet. It was concerned in particular about punishment for the expression of political or religious views, trial procedures, treatment of detainees and prison conditions.

29. Despite the many examples of abuse, his country was encouraged by efforts world wide to initiate reforms aimed at promoting and protecting human rights. It would continue to encourage countries to move forward in that area.

30. Mr. HLAING (Myanmar) said that his country strongly believed in humanitarian moral values and human rights and consistently adhered to the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Myanmar was taking steps to become a party to some international human rights instruments and in 1991 had acceded to the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances. His Government had welcomed the visits by independent experts appointed by the Commission on Human Rights and was providing full and factual information to the Commission on the human rights situation in Myanmar.

31. His Government supported the convening of the World Conference on Human Rights in 1993 and had participated in the first session of the Preparatory Committee for the Conference. Humanitarian moral values and respect for human rights were deeply rooted in Myanmar culture, the hallmarks of which were compassion, tolerance and gentleness. Equality of the sexes and equal opportunities for all citizens and national groups were examples of the observance of basic human rights in his country. That cultural tradition had been enhanced by a well-developed legal framework and an independent judicial system. To date, 70 domestic laws had been enacted to ensure the protection of human rights.

(Mr. Hlaing, Myanmar)

32. In developing countries, economic realities dictated that basic human requirements such as security, food, clothing and shelter must be met first in order to ensure the observance of human rights. The State Law and Order Restoration Council had been carrying out a series of political, economic and social policies aimed at consolidating the rule of law and improving the socio-economic conditions in Myanmar. A programme for the development of border areas and national ethnic groups was being conducted in order to improve economic conditions and build infrastructures. That programme, which was yielding encouraging results and had the wholehearted support of the people concerned, had received assistance from eight United Nations agencies. His Government was also carrying out a programme to resettle homeless and destitute persons in newly developed satellite towns in the capital and other cities throughout the country. Those very successful programmes demonstrated Myanmar's efforts to protect and promote human rights.

33. Although some individuals had been placed under restraint because they had infringed certain laws, there were no political detainees or detention centres in his country. The Government was fully committed to the cause of democracy and had already instituted a multi-party democratic system in response to the aspirations of the Myanmar people. It should be kept in mind that it would take some time for democracy to become firmly rooted in his country. A firm foundation must be laid and the necessary measures must be taken to ensure a smooth transition to a democratic system. His delegation had been deeply pained by the fact that certain people were lending credence to unfounded and politically motivated allegations against Myanmar. Those allegations emanated from unsavory elements who were in league with anti-Government terrorist groups.

34. Mr. ORDONEZ (Philippines) said that at the current stage in international affairs there was a need for greater cooperation and a combination of common sense and compassion in the field of human rights. The United Nations must take practical steps to find alternative approaches for improving the enjoyment of human rights and freedoms.

35. The 1993 World Conference on Human Rights was part of a dynamic process of strengthening human rights. All members of the international community should seize that opportunity to assess progress made since the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. They should examine the relationship between development and the enjoyment of human rights, particularly the need to create conditions for the latter. The Philippines fully supported the Preparatory Committee's recommendations and underscored the importance of regional preparatory meetings, whose reports should form part of the official documentation for the Conference. He also stressed the need for extrabudgetary contributions to enable the least developed countries to attend the meetings of the Preparatory Committee.

(Mr. Ordonez, Philippines)

36. With regard to the studies and documentation for the Conference, the Philippines strongly believed that the experts and consultants employed for their preparation should be selected with due regard for equitable geographical distribution and also for the expertise of those responsible for implementing human rights in developing countries. Non-governmental organizations could play an important role at the Conference and due consideration should be given to the guidelines governing their participation.

37. His delegation stressed the need to give equal attention to preparations for the International Year for the World's Indigenous People, to be held in 1993. The Philippines would encourage the participation of its large indigenous population in activities to observe the Year and attached particular importance to the promotion and protection of the rights of its minorities. The 1987 Constitution recognized the rights of indigenous cultural minorities and laid down principles for establishing autonomous regions for such groups. On the basis of a recent plebiscite, an autonomous region had been established in Muslim Mindanao in November 1990 and his Government had recently transferred substantial powers and resources to the autonomous regional government.

38. The Philippines had closely followed the work on the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities and could claim that it had already achieved the draft declaration's objectives. His delegation was pleased to join in sponsoring the draft resolution on non-discrimination and protection of minorities (A/C.3/46/L.3/Rev.1).

39. He attached great importance to the United Nations advisory services and technical assistance in the field of human rights, and the support provided by the Centre for Human Rights had been invaluable. The Philippine Commission on Human Rights conducted an ongoing research and information programme to enhance respect for human rights. Together with the Centre for Human Rights, it had held three seminars attended by representatives of the police and military and government agencies and non-governmental organizations. There were also ongoing human rights education programmes for various sectors of Philippine society. His delegation underscored the urgent need to provide the Centre for Human Rights with sufficient human resources in view of its greatly increased workload, and was a sponsor of draft resolution A/C.3/46/L.36.

40. With respect to enhancing the implementation of international human rights instruments, he stressed the need to rationalize the elaborate monitoring mechanisms set up by the Commission on Human Rights. The Philippines had always fully cooperated with the various treaty bodies in submitting its reports and with the thematic rapporteurs in answering their queries concerning alleged violations. There was a need to encourage a cooperative relationship between Governments and thematic rapporteurs. That could be done through a core group of highly qualified individuals who would carry out their mandate in an objective manner and draw up fair and constructive reports.

41. Mr. RAVEN (United Kingdom) said that his delegation would be submitting a draft resolution on the protection of persons with mental illness and the improvement of mental health care and looked forward to the adoption of the draft body of principles on that question, which would join the corpus of human rights instruments that benefited individuals throughout the world.

42. The rise of democracy and the changes in the international climate had created new opportunities in the field of human rights. His Government had made the concept of good government a major platform of its foreign policy, particularly in the field of development. Economic success depended not only on freer economies, but also on open and effective government. Good government meant the implementation of sound economic policies, accountable and competent administration, preventing corruption, eliminating poverty, illiteracy and disease and ensuring observance of human rights. It included protection of freedom of expression, political pluralism and broad participation in development. His Government's policy aimed to ensure respect for human rights while increasing aid effectiveness and enhancing development. There was a need for pluralistic decision-making which responded to the needs of individuals in society.

43. The United Kingdom was implementing its policy of good government within its aid programme. That included assistance in the legal sector, police training, improving the effectiveness of institutions and supporting democratic processes through free and fair elections. His delegation recognized the importance of the role of the United Nations in providing electoral services at the request of Member States. In designing its projects, his Government tried to encourage local participation and decision-making. Sustainable development must be broad-based; and individuals and groups in society must be involved in decision-making and share the fruits of development. The best guarantee of good government was openness and accountability.

44. The States members of the Commonwealth were committed to democracy, the rule of law and fundamental human rights as well as sound economic and political management. Ensuring democracy and the enjoyment of human rights would promote good government and economic prosperity.

45. His Government had no wish to impose a particular model since different parts of the world had different traditions, institutions and problems. Each society would strike its own balance between individual rights and the responsibilities of the State. Nevertheless, recent history showed that stifling individual rights led to discontent and economic failure. All Member States must meet the basic human rights standards laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the two Covenants. It was by those yardsticks that Governments would increasingly be judged. Consent in place of command, free trade instead of protectionism, honest government replacing corruption and dictatorship, cooperation instead of domination - those were the aims of the Charter and the Universal Declaration.

46. Mr. HENNESSY (Ireland) said that the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion had been recognized in both the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Furthermore, article 18 of the Covenant was one of the articles from which derogation was not permissible in time of public emergency. His delegation welcomed the decision of the Human Rights Committee to prepare a general comment on article 18, which would help to identify policies and practices that were inimical to the enjoyment of the freedom of belief, such as restrictions on the freedom to select religious leaders and on the functions of religious leaders, discriminatory measures against specific religious groups and religion-based restriction of access to education, social services or employment.

47. Whether it arose from discriminatory legislation or from Government's defiance of legislative guarantees of religious freedom, religious conflict was often marked by indiscriminate violence, and sometimes by imprisonment and torture for religious reasons. He reiterated his delegation's request that the Special Rapporteur on torture should give particular attention to such cases, in consultation with the Special Rapporteur on religious intolerance, to the Commission on Human Rights.

48. His Government attached great importance to the creation of a climate inimical to discrimination, through legislation, education and training. The draft resolution which his delegation would introduce at the current session emphasized the importance of such training for members of security forces, public servants, teachers and others whose conduct could affect the enjoyment of religious rights.

49. Since respect for diversity fostered religious tolerance, educators, religious leaders and other persons in positions of influence should work to promote tolerance and to avoid conflict between adherents of different faiths.

50. The current year marked the tenth anniversary of the adoption of the Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Intolerance and of Discrimination Based on Religion or Belief, thus providing an opportunity for Governments and non-governmental organizations to consider further national and regional measures to promote the implementation of the Declaration. Within the United Nations system, the advisory services programme of the Centre for Human Rights could help to ensure that the right to religious freedom was incorporated in new national constitutions and bills of rights. In addition, the Department of Public Information should intensify its efforts for the widest possible dissemination of the Declaration in all the official languages of the United Nations.

51. In previous years, the draft resolution on the subject, traditionally introduced by his delegation, had enjoyed broad-based co-sponsorship and had been adopted without a vote. He hoped that the Committee would again strongly support the draft resolution at the current session.

52. Mr. AIYAR (India) said that India was proud of being the world's most populous democracy and of having placed democracy before development, in the belief that democracy was the optimal political framework for development. Under that system, India had periodic elections at all levels, an independent judiciary, a free press and equality and equal protection of all under the law. Its Constitution contained safeguards that incorporated the essential components of important international human rights instruments.

53. India was not, however, blind to the shortcomings of its democratic institutions, and therefore strove unceasingly to improve their functioning according to the principle of the rule of law and to eliminate prejudice and discrimination in its society. Although much remained to be done, India was heartened by the progress made, in less than 50 years, towards eradicating the accumulated ills of 5,000 years.

54. India did not believe that the ambit of human rights could be extended through encroachment on national sovereignty. Each State Member of the United Nations had individual responsibility for fulfilling its obligations under the Charter and for deciding whether to accede to international human rights instruments. The role of international organizations was to broaden the range of international obligations and to monitor their implementation by those States which had freely entered into them.

55. The development of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms was an evolutionary process which required understanding and encouragement from such bodies as the Third Committee. Progress in that area could be made only through the exercise of sovereign decisions on the part of individual States in accordance with the principles of the International Bill of Human Rights. That did not mean, however, that the issue of human rights was not a matter of universal concern. It was important to foster an exchange of views in order to develop ways of promoting the universal enjoyment of all human rights while still respecting diverse social perspectives and national experiences.

56. Both national and international action must be informed by the understanding that human rights must be implemented as an indivisible whole. The collective commitment of Member States to upholding human rights implied their collective responsibility for securing the enjoyment by all of all human rights, including the right to development. While democracy provided the best political setting for the realization of human rights, development provided the best economic setting for the enjoyment of those rights, as demonstrated by the experience of the developed countries of the West. Thus, the right to development was not only a human right in itself, but also one of the most effective means of securing other human rights.

57. In a number of countries, the human rights situation fit the internationally accepted definition of mass and flagrant violations. One such country was South Africa, which, despite the steps it had taken towards dismantling apartheid, should continue to be subjected to international pressure until all its people had freely adopted a new Constitution

(Mr. Aiyar, India)

guaranteeing a non-racial and democratic society. Ironically enough, South Africa's current situation was reflected in reverse in Fiji, which was trying to institutionalize racial discrimination through a Constitution that abridged the rights of part of its population. The international community must consider ways of countering that anachronistic trend.

58. His delegation welcomed the initiation of a dialogue in the Middle East, and firmly believed that durable peace in the region could be achieved only through a just and comprehensive settlement that respected the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to a homeland. Moreover, India affirmed its solidarity with the people of Cyprus and fully supported the Secretary-General's efforts to find a solution which would preserve the sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of that country. It also called upon the Government of Myanmar to restore democracy, in accordance with the will of the people as expressed in the electoral process. India hoped that the Nobel Peace Prize winner Daw Aung San Suu Kyi and other political leaders would be immediately released from political detention and enabled to assume their rightful place in the national affairs of Myanmar.

59. India was pleased that the process of preparing for the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights was balanced and based on consensus. Regional meetings would be a valuable means of clarifying the objectives of the Conference, which should reflect the results of such meetings.

60. One of the most serious threats to human rights, which must be duly considered at the Conference, was terrorism and the forces that supported it. Terrorism's use of such criminal methods as kidnapping, extortion, torture and murder undermined the foundations of democracy by preventing the holding of free and fair elections, abrogating the full freedom of expression, muzzling the free press, shackling the independent judiciary and seriously disrupting social harmony. Respect for human rights should be seen not as a hindrance, but as an instrument in the struggle against terrorism. He called upon the international community to cooperate in preventing any attempt at aiding and abetting terrorism from beyond the borders of the country concerned. He reiterated his delegation's recommendation that a detailed study on terrorism, including the link between terrorism and drug trafficking and the ways in which terrorism threatened respect for human rights, should be prepared for consideration at the Conference.

61. Since each nation must develop its own ways of ensuring the enjoyment of human rights, India welcomed the establishment of national institutions to protect and promote those rights. It hoped that the Conference would recommend that the advisory services of the Centre for Human Rights should be strengthened.

62. He was concerned about the growing inclination among donor countries and great economic Powers to impose so-called "human rights conditionalities" on matters relating to international economic relations. That tendency ignored

(Mr. Aiyar, India)

the international community's responsibility to assist development. The linking of development assistance to unilateral views of human rights situations was a dangerous doctrine which could be used as a weapon to settle bilateral scores or to interfere with development patterns. Development cooperation should, instead, respect the fundamental right to development.

63. His delegation welcomed the efforts to strengthen the early warning capabilities of the United Nations in order to prevent mass exoduses. To that end, it was imperative that contacts should be established and maintained with the Governments concerned. Moreover, in addressing the causes of refugee problems, the Organization should consider not only human rights standards, but also the economic disparities which gave rise to the phenomenon of "economic migrants".

64. Mr. O'BRIEN (New Zealand) said that, since human rights were the very foundation of freedom, justice and peace, the United Nations should seize the opportunity provided by the end of the cold war to create a "universal culture" of human rights. The Organization had already developed a comprehensive body of international law on human rights and fundamental freedoms, as well as a range of mechanisms to implement those standards, and should base its human rights efforts on that solid foundation. The increasing number of human rights mechanisms was welcome evidence that the majority of Member States wanted the Organization to enhance its capacity to promote human rights in the new era of international relations.

65. United Nations monitoring activities in Cambodia and El Salvador testified to its acknowledgement of the importance of human rights to a country's overall political and social security. He was concerned that United Nations human rights activities were meeting resistance in some quarters. The failure of Governments to fulfil their human rights obligations was a matter of legitimate concern to the entire international community, which must, in turn, avoid politicizing its human rights work or approaching situations selectively.

66. One of the Organization's practical and action-oriented efforts was its programme of advisory services and technical assistance. As a contributor to the voluntary fund for advisory services, New Zealand was pleased that the United Nations had begun to include the South Pacific in the programme.

67. The special rapporteurs and thematic mechanisms also played a role in furthering understanding of the nature and causes of specific types of human rights violations. He was particularly pleased that some of the special rapporteurs had made proposals on preventive measures. Unquestionably, governmental cooperation with the special rapporteurs and working groups was essential. In particular, he welcomed the establishment of a new working group on arbitrary detention.

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

68. Further work must be done in the area of mass exoduses and refugee flows. The early warning capabilities of the United Nations system and preventive diplomacy should receive special emphasis.

69. When preventive diplomacy failed, however, and human rights violations persisted, the United Nations must take appropriate action. Promotion of human rights would have little meaning if they were not defended when under threat. One response had been to appoint special rapporteurs to investigate a pattern of flagrant violations in particular countries.

70. The report on the situation in Iraq before the Committee was deeply disturbing, and his delegation called upon the Government of Iraq to answer in full the Special Rapporteur's questions and to put an end to brutality and oppression. Human rights violations committed by Iraq during its occupation of Kuwait were similarly distressing.

71. Some situations had been before the Committee for a number of years. In Afghanistan, New Zealanders were participating in demining operations as a contribution to the eventual safe return of many Afghan refugees. Reports on the peace negotiations in El Salvador were encouraging, but problems clearly remained. His delegation remained concerned about obstacles to the full enjoyment of human rights in Iran, and trusted that the Special Rapporteur would be able to visit that country before preparing his next report. It welcomed the agreement recently formalized with ICRC enabling it to visit Iranian prisons.

72. New Zealand was deeply perturbed about the situation in Myanmar. The continued refusal of the State Law and Order Restoration Council to take any steps to respond to the will of the people for a transfer of power to a democratically elected Government was unacceptable. His delegation hoped that the Council would take note of the increasing disquiet felt throughout the international community and would release Daw Aung San Suu Kyi to allow her to accept the Nobel Peace Prize, and that it would allow the democratically elected Government to take office.

73. His Government had expressed its deep concern about the loss of life in East Timor: a young New Zealander had been among the victims. The Government of Indonesia had promised to investigate the incident thoroughly and to make public its findings. His delegation also welcomed that Government's continued support for and cooperation with ICRC.

74. From the reports before the Committee, it was clear that much more preventive and educational work was needed. The realization of economic, social and cultural rights must also be explored more comprehensively. Member States were increasingly linking human rights and other issues such as development and the environment, and the challenge lay in synthesizing such concerns into concrete improvements in the enjoyment of human rights. His

(Mr. O'Brien, New Zealand)

delegation looked forward to the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights as an opportunity to focus attention on that area and to make more effective the work of the United Nations in that field.

75. The International Year for the World's Indigenous People, also to be observed in 1993, was of special interest to New Zealand. It was important for the indigenous peoples themselves to be fully involved in the planning of programmes and their implementation.

76. Mr. OUATTARA (Mali) said that serious human rights violations stemming, for instance, from colonialism, racist policies and totalitarianism had persisted despite the adoption of international human rights instruments. Nevertheless, accession by a large number of States and the aspirations of peoples for justice and freedom had contributed to improvements in domestic legislation and human rights practice. The triumph of democracy in all regions of the world, especially in Africa, was evidence of such positive change.

77. Since independence, the Government of Mali had declared its attachment to human rights principles, but the one-party system had not favoured their true enjoyment. In March 1991, however, the Malian people had overturned the dictatorship and had laid the foundations for true democracy characterized by a multi-party system and the rule of law. The first institutions and legislative instruments established by the new Malian authorities had made the protection of human rights a basic principle of internal and external policy. The Government had also taken measures to ensure the implementation of legislative provisions for the enjoyment of human rights through ratification of the United Nations Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment, and reform of the criminal code under way intended to make it more humane. In the meantime, citizens now had the right to legal counsel, even for a preliminary investigation. Exit visas were no longer required, thus making real the enjoyment of freedom of movement. A number of non-governmental organizations concerned with human rights had been formed in Mali as well.

78. Democratization and the building of a state of law begun in Mali and many African countries needed constant support from the international community. Increased assistance to developing countries in resolving their enormous economic problems would contribute to the promotion and protection of human rights.

79. Mr. MONTALVO (Ecuador) said that growing attention by the international community to human rights issues was changing the concept of international relations for the better. Only by giving priority to human rights could mankind be saved from self-annihilation. The new international order, to provide true "pax universalis", must include an objective view of human rights that would not allow their use for any other purpose than the protection of human dignity. His delegation questioned the judgemental stance taken by some

(Mr. Montalvo, Ecuador)

delegations with regard to human rights. Such rights must be viewed not as an ideological crusade or a political weapon, but as an essential expression of justice and solidarity.

80. Ecuador prided itself on being free of violence and repression without any flagrant human rights violations. Its social stability was viewed as exceptional in a troubled region. Furthermore, sporadic violations had served to bring about improvements in human rights protection mechanisms. The responsible attitude of its Government with regard to human rights had been recognized in periodic reports submitted to the Human Rights Committee and the Committee against Torture. More than ever before, an awareness of the rights of all persons and their value had become widespread in Ecuadorian society.

81. His delegation welcomed the accession to the two International Covenants on Human Rights by additional countries. It also praised the work of the human rights bodies within the United Nations system. His Government strongly supported the Declaration on the Right to Development as being essential in a just international order. His Government was concerned with the protection of the rights of refugees and displaced persons, and urged all countries to ratify or accede to the International Covention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families.

82. Ecuador fully endorsed the Secretary-Geneal's report on enhancing the effectiveness of the principle of periodic and genuine elections (A/46/609) and welcomed the designation of a Coordinator for Electoral Matters.

83. Two events to take place in 1993 deserved priority attention: the International Year for the World's Indigenous People and the World Conference on Human Rights. The observance of the Year would provide an opportunity to highlight the significance of indigenous peoples and their rights, while the Conference was a welcome step amid the changes in the international community.

84. Ms. JAHAN (Bangladesh), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that her delegation appreciated the positive comments made at an earlier meeting by the representative of Norway on the recent democratic change in Bangladesh, but wished to clarify the situation regarding the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The new Government was doing its utmost to protect and promote the basic rights of the people of that area, irrespective of caste, creed, race or religion, and had implemented far-reaching measures to ensure their rights despite economic difficulties and high population pressure.

85. The three Hill District Local Government Councils elected in 1989 had given the tribal people the opportunity to be governed through their own representatives. During the 1991 general elections, the tribal people had elected three representatives to Parliament, all belonging to the opposition party. The Government had also taken initiatives to rid the region of

(Ms. Jahan, Bangladesh)

violence through dialogue and creation of conditions conducive to development. It would continue to live up to its obligations to the people of that region, who were an integral part of the nation.

86. Mr. ARROSPIDE (Peru), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that the comments of the representative of Canada earlier in the meeting regarding the number of disappearances in Peru had been based on outdated information. The number of disappearances had decreased by 70 per cent between the 1989/90 and 1990/91 reporting periods, according to the Working Group on Involuntary or Enforced Disappearances. Peru was a democracy supported by a civilian society that was facing violence intended to destroy the foundation of the State. It was neither ethically nor politically justified to place on an equal footing a democracy attempting to modernize its economic and social structures and an anti-social group trying to impose utopian primitivism. Peru was firmly committed to fighting terrorist violence within a framework of respect for human rights.

87. Mr. AIYAR (India), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said, in response to the statement made earlier in the meeting by the representative of Canada, that India's credentials in promoting the cause of women were second to none and did not require external endorsement. Women had long been and continued to be in decision-making positions. For the representative of Canada to focus on an isolated incident concerning dowry debt, which was, moreover, subject to the full force of national law, and to internationalize it, betrayed a lack of understanding of legal and other safeguards in India and did a disservice to its assiduous efforts, in the face of the challenges of underdevelopment, to improve the condition of its women.

88. Mr. HUSSAIN (Iraq), speaking in exercise of the right of reply, said that his country had been urged to engage in democratic reforms regarding its method of choosing its leaders. His delegation totally rejected such statements. The Iraqi people had chosen their leaders of their own will and rejected any form of outside intervention. Those statements were in flagrant violation of the principle of self-determination and represented interference in the internal affairs of Iraq.

89. Laws on political pluralism and freedom of the press had recently been instituted; and Iraq had cooperated with the Special Rapporteur of the Human Rights Commission and had facilitated his mission.

90. The Iraqi people did not need defenders who would change their political system while ignoring their sufferings. He wondered how a democracy could be expected to flourish in a society under total embargo.

The meeting rose at 5.35 p.m.